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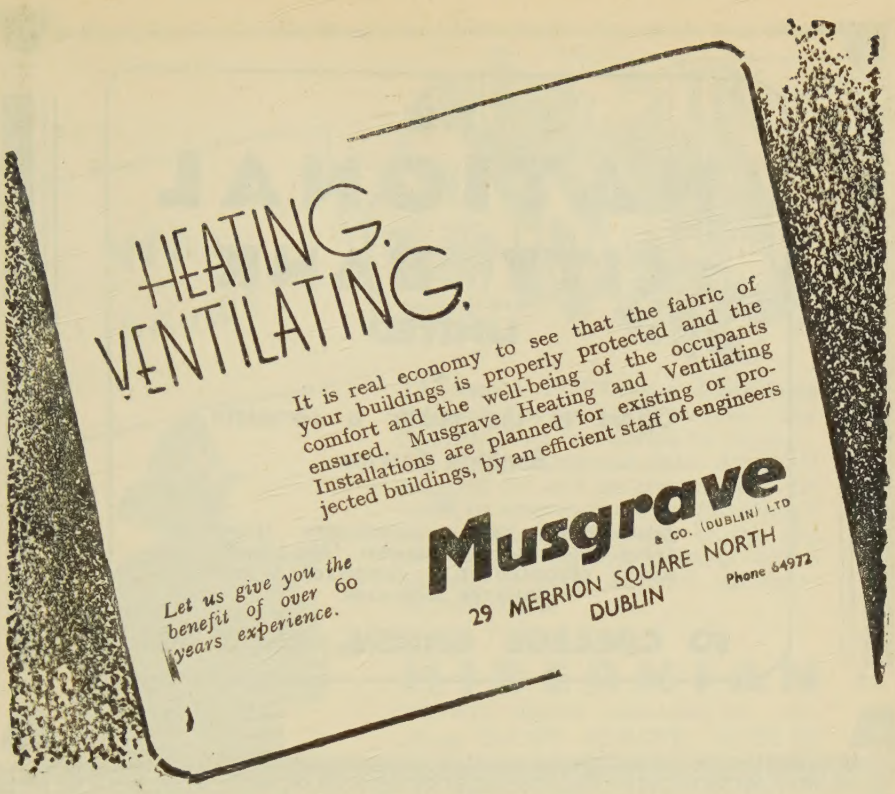
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EUROPEAN RECOVERY PROGRAMME*

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THE second attempt at post-war economic reconstruction was heralded by the speech of the United States Secretary of State on June 5, 1947. Speaking at Harvard, Mr. Marshall declared that "Europe's requirements for the next three or four years of foreign food and other essential requirements—principally from America—are so much greater than her present ability to pay that she must have substantial additional help or else face economic, social and political deterioration of a very grave character . . . . There must be agreement between the countries of Europe as to the requirements of the situation and the part these countries themselves will take in order to give proper effect to whatever action might be taken by this Government. It would be neither fitting nor efficacious for this Government to draw up unilaterally a programme designed to place Europe on its feet economically. The initiative must come from Europe."

I

The Marshall proposals—or plan, as they were at once miscalled—amounted to an invitation to the European nations to draw up a list of their needs, accompanied by a programme of co-operative reconstruction, for which the United States promised to find the money. The promise was perhaps an act of self-interest; but self-interest is rarely so enlightened and generous. American motives were defined frankly enough in the memorandum submitted, in December 1947, to the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee by the State Department: "It must be frankly faced that, without comprehensive assistance from the United States, the economies of western Europe will suffer disastrous deterioration. The United States cannot remain indifferent to this prospect. The experiences of our generation have shown only too clearly that major disturbances beyond our shores vitally affect the well-being and security of the United States . . . . The interests of the United States in helping to bring about European economic recovery are threefold—humanitarian, economic, and political."

Such words marked another milestone in the progress of American thinking on foreign relations. Mr. Marshall's speech was not indeed the first attempt of the United States to restore the economic order. That

* The substance of the earlier part of this article is drawn from a public lecture in University College, Dublin, in December 1947. For the later part, reference may be made to *The European Recovery Programme* presented by the Minister for External Affairs (May 1948) and now on sale through the Government Publications Sale Office at the price of three shillings.

had already been made through the Anglo-American Loan Agreement of December 1945. It had then been hoped that a supply of dollars to Great Britain would help that country to re-establish her production and revive world trade by her imports and exports. The failure of that attempt was already evident when Mr. Marshall spoke in June 1947, although its proof did not come until the collapse of sterling convertibility in the following August.

The sudden suspension of Lease-Lend, in August 1945, had immeasurably aggravated the difficulties of all the European countries. It is curious to reflect that if President Truman's advisers had acted then with rather more deliberation, the expenses of the British Loan and of the Marshall Plan itself might well have been unnecessary. It was now, from a European point of view, essential to take immediate advantage of this new and sudden liberality of American thought. The British and French Governments replied to Mr. Marshall by inviting the European states to meet in Paris, on 12 July 1947, to consider how they could reach agreement on a list of their needs and a programme of action for recovery.

Only sixteen nations accepted the invitation—Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and Turkey. Russia refused the invitation for herself and for the countries under her control. Spain was not invited. It is worth while to recall that the participating nations represented some three-quarters of all European trade (excluding Russia) before the war ; that they contain a population of some 212 millions ; and that five of them possess dependencies peopled by yet another 237 millions.[1] In addition, they contain an overwhelming proportion of the skilled labour of Europe.

The Conference worked throughout the summer of 1947. By the end of September it had produced a report that now calls for examination. Its contents were drafted to show : *firstly*, how Europe had fallen into her present difficulties ; *secondly*, in what directions its pre-war production could be regained or surpassed ; *thirdly*, what measure of United States aid would be necessary. We may take these points in turn.

II

Before the war, Europe was a heavy importer of industrial and agricultural raw materials and foodstuffs. These imports were paid for, firstly by exports of goods ; secondly by the interest that annually accrued from European investments overseas. For generations savings had flowed out to build railways in the Argentine or India, to build docks in Shanghai or Vancouver, to build factories in the United States or Brazil. The movement reached its height in the decades that preceded 1914 ;

[1] Including the British colonies but not the Dominions, India or Pakistan.

but there was still a certain amount of investment between the wars. In this manner, the European peoples—notably the investing peoples such as the British, the Dutch, the Swiss, the Swedes and the Irish—had not to work in order to get all of what they bought, whether it was the food that kept them alive, the raw materials that kept them in work, or any of the million and one things such as fruit or tobacco that enter into ordinary life. They could buy freely beyond the limit of what they sold. They could draw on the interest from the investments of past generations and, when that failed (as in the case of Great Britain before 1939), they could realise the investments themselves. Their standard of living was thus higher than their current production could justify.

Before the war, again, the overseas investments not only financed European imports: they went far towards making international trade possible. For example, Great Britain bought meat from the Argentine and wheat from Canada. To those countries, and there were plenty of others, she sold far less than she bought from them. The deficiency was made up from her invisible assets—from the interest payments already mentioned or from sources such as shipping-earnings and brokerage. Thus, Canada and the Argentine had surplus sterling which, in 1939, they could convert into dollars and buy motor-cars or machinery or whatever else they wanted from the United States. They could not have done so had it not been for that sterling surplus, since, like everybody else, they had and have little to sell that the United States need to buy. Thus, to mention another aspect, the American export trade was closely concerned with the supply of convertible sterling. In the same way, Great Britain bought much more from the nations of continental Europe than she sold to them. They, in their turn, were able to buy wool from Australia, maize from the Argentine or petrol from the United States. Thus, a great part of the world's trade was made possible by the fact that the creditor nations, particularly Great Britain, could finance an excess of imports by drawing on invisible assets.

The Paris Report makes plain how greatly the situation had been changed by the most disastrous struggle since the Thirty Years War. To begin with, the overseas investments have been greatly depleted. To be sure, they have not yet disappeared completely. Some countries, such as Belgium, have perhaps added to their resources since the war. But in general, European holdings abroad have been brought low by the necessity of buying supplies in the days before Lend-Lease or of maintaining the currency since the end of the war. Once again, Great Britain may be taken as a ready symbol of the European nation that was comfortably off in 1939 and is now struggling with so much difficulty. By no means all the British overseas investments have been sold. Only about half of those held in 1939 have been realised; though it is fair to assume that this half included the most valuable. The loss of receipts

from investments is only one of Europe's troubles. There are others whose consequences are more damaging at the moment, even if their duration may be shorter. These temporary difficulties may now be examined.

III

In Great Britain, Greece and Norway the mercantile marine has been an important source of invisible earnings. It suffered severely during the war. The new importance of shipping may be estimated from the immense effort that is now being made by the shipyards of Great Britain or by considering the amount of dollars that are earned by the *Queen Mary* and *Queen Elizabeth*. Again, events in Europe and Asia have diverted, if only temporarily, the normal channels of trade. The expansion of Russia into Europe has cut off several sources of valuable supplies. Europe can no longer obtain timber freely from Finland ; it has to buy at high prices and in a scarce currency from Canada. It cannot get wheat from Hungary or Rumania. It cannot get coal or steel from Silesia.

Events in Asia complicated matters still further. In 1946-7, for example, Australia had an export surplus of wheat that might have been bought for sterling. It could not be brought to Europe because it was needed for the relief of distress in India. The Indians do not consume great quantities of wheat as a rule ; but their normal staple, rice, was unobtainable from China, Indo-China or Siam on account of civil war in those countries. Again, before the war, Europe received a substantial supply of dollars from the sale of rubber off British or Dutch owned plantations in Malaya or the East Indies. Trouble in Java meant that reconstruction was delayed, and so Britain and Holland had the fewer dollars.

This meant that Europe was dependent, to a greater extent than ever before, on supplies from North and South America. At the same time her capacity to produce and sell goods to those areas was almost destroyed. In 1938 the imports of western Europe amounted to £1,650 millions. They were paid for by exports and invisible exports to the extent of £1,525 millions. There was thus a gap of £125 millions, a sum that might be more than made up in a good trading year. At present, however, all the European demand is thrown on to the production of the Americas, where domestic demand is itself running at unprecedented heights. It is no wonder that the price of imports from the western hemisphere is enormously increased. The estimated balance of trade between western Europe and the United States alone for 1948 envisages a deficit of no less than £2,000 millions.

But this is to look at the problem only in terms of money. We must also consider it from the point of view of production. The destruction of the second German War was incomparably greater and more widely

spread than that of the first. We get a faint idea of the devastation when we read a passing estimate that the rebuilding of Cologne, a city that has had an uninterrupted life since the principate of Augustus, will take thirty years—if it is undertaken. We can only guess at the industrial loss that was inflicted on factories, remembering that they were the special targets of bombardment from the air for six years. We have to remember also that European farming was carried on without any of the normal aids to maintaining fertility. The result may be summed up by comparing European output in 1946 with the average of the years 1935-39. Production of wheat was down by 20 per cent., of oats by 23 per cent., of barley by 16 per cent., of maize by 43 per cent. and of cattle by 10 per cent.

That is not all. For almost ten years the trend of the birth-rate has been upwards. In Western Europe the loss through war casualties was far less than in 1914-18 and, so far, there has been no epidemic like that of 1918-19 to double the losses of war. Finally, the frontier changes of Eastern and Central Europe have brought a vast number of fugitives into the West. Between all these forces, the population of Western Europe is now markedly above that of 1939, while its capacity to support itself is so greatly reduced.

IV

The targets set for production envisage that by 1951 food production will regain the standards of 1938. This will not mean a return to pre-war standards of living on account of the intervening increase in population. The European mercantile marine is to be also restored by then to its pre-war level. Inland transport is to run in 1951 at 125 per cent. of 1938. Electricity, for domestic and industrial use, is to be increased by two-thirds over 1938. Oil refining, now very costly in dollars, is to be expanded to 250 per cent. Finally, coal is to be increased to 106 per cent. of 1938 and steel to 120 per cent. It is in these last two commodities, the foundation of industrial production, that the promised British contribution will be greatest. It is promised that British coal production will rise from 199 million tons in 1947 to 249 million tons in 1951, providing exports of 17 million tons in 1949. The output of steel is to increase from 12,700,000 tons in 1947 to 15 million tons in 1951. In the mercantile marine, cargo tonnage is to be increased from 15.05 million tons to 16.45 million tons, and tanker tonnage from 5.10 million tons to 6.37 million tons.

Here in Ireland we have engaged to raise the number of cattle from 3,960,000 to 4,200,000; of sheep from 2,095,000 to 3 millions; of pigs from 563 thousand to one million, and of poultry from 17,107,000 to 25 millions. These may seem heavy engagements. They seem all the heavier when we recall that our agriculture has steadily declined in the last generation. But the best answer to the query whether we can

honour our commitments is that the figures promised for 1951 were in most cases actually exceeded in 1931. We promise a million pigs for 1951; in 1931 we had a million and a quarter. We promise three million sheep for 1951; we had three and a half million in 1931. In 1931 we had only 175,000 less cattle than we now promise to have in 1951 —and only 2,500,000 less poultry. What we did once we can do again; and it may be that one result of the Marshall proposals will be to re-establish and strengthen our rural life. When all is said and done, it is better economics to export agricultural produce than agricultural labour.

Projected increases of production in other countries are on much the same scale. Nothing could have been easier, or more inviting, than to set targets that could never be reached. The Paris Report impresses one as an honest statement of aims that are attainable. In the case of British coal, for example, the projected 1951 production is a good deal higher than the present level output; but is still rather below the production of 1913. And here we come to one of the possible weaknesses of the plan. Supplies of coal and steel must come from Britain and Germany. The restoration of British output is a matter primarily for the British themselves; but the rehabilitation of German production raises political issues that are very much alive.

We will come back to that. We may turn to projected plans of co-operation. It is taken for granted that increased output must be available as far as possible for export: that, for example, Britain will make coal available and that Denmark and Ireland will increase their agricultural production for export. That implies some degree of relaxation of customs barriers. The difficulties of establishing a customs union of Western Europe are so great that any attempt in that direction might be positively harmful at this stage. But the present position of embargoes or quota restrictions cannot be maintained: if the European nations are to be helped by the United States, they must all make some sacrifices. Already, however, there have been moves towards closer customs unions —notably among the Scandinavian countries and between Luxemburg and the Low Countries. Finally there are most imaginative projects for international co-operation in the erection and use of hydro-electric power —notably between France, Italy and Switzerland. Schemes such as these, it may be added, may do more than anything else to impress Americans with the possibilities of relief and Europeans with the hope that these years of strain may bring a better future. The Marshall Plan will be accounted a failure by historians if it is directed merely to a return to 1939.

V

These schemes call for uninterrupted supplies of raw materials and foodstuffs. They cannot be carried through unless Europe can find

coal and steel, machinery and generators with which its factories can expand their production, oil and petrol with which that production can be moved, wheat and maize by which the producers can be fed. But without a supply of dollars these things cannot be bought. The original plans of the Paris Conference called for aid, between 1948 and 1951, to the extent of some 27 thousand million dollars. It is common knowledge that when American advisers were given a pre-view of the draft, they declared at once that Congress would never accept such estimates. After a week's hasty work the total was reduced to 21 thousand million dollars.

At this stage, the matter merges in the general consideration of the legislation now passed by Congress to implement the programme of the Paris Conference. That body, usually so slow, has acted with a celerity that belied European fears. Congress re-assembled on January 7, 1948. It had before it President Truman's plan for a four-year programme of European relief totalling $17 thousand millions (£4,250 millions). A specific appropriation of $6,800 millions (£1,700 millions) was required to cover the first fifteen months, commencing on April 1, 1948. A substantial proportion of the funds would be distributed in grants, the remainder in credits. The European Recovery Programme, as the Marshall Plan was now called, was to be under the control of a single administrator aided by an Ambassador-at-Large in Europe. The Ambassador would be accredited to a permanent organisation set up by the participating nations. This permanent organisation might well be intended, in American minds, to go further in the course of time than the administration of transatlantic relief. It is probable that it is regarded in Washington as a body around which the economic union of Western Europe may be accomplished eventually.

The abolition of customs duties did not, however, figure among the conditions that were laid down for fulfilment by the participating countries. These were that each country should declare its willingness to promote industrial and agricultural production, to stabilize its currency and to maintain confidence in its monetary system, to co-operate in stimulating interchanges of goods and the reduction of barriers to trade, to use the resources of other participating countries, and to facilitate the sale to the United States (if required), " on reasonable terms and in reasonable quantities, of materials which are required by the United States as a result of deficiencies or potential deficiencies in its own natural resources after due regard for reasonable requirements for domestic use and commercial export of such country". There are also some conditions relating to the administration of relief which will be examined in more detail later.

The Foreign Assistance Bill, as the measure was called, came at once under the consideration of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. It was passed by the Senate by 69 votes to 17 on March 14. It was passed

by the House of Representatives on March 31. It was signed by President Truman on April 3. Rarely indeed can so important a measure have been so quickly approved by Congress; but then rarely has a measure received such justification from informed opinion in Washington, from events in Prague and from fears in Paris and Rome.

The Foreign Assistance Act differed in some respects from the measure first introduced. The amount of relief now authorised covers only the first twelve months and has been reduced to $4,300 million (£1,075 millions). To this should be added a further $1,000 millions (£250 millions) from the Export-Import Bank. This change need not, perhaps, be taken too seriously. It was introduced at the instance of Senator Vandenberg, the leader of the Republican Opposition in the Senate. It is clear that the Republican Party, who may well capture the entire Administration at the elections next autumn, are in favour of the principle of the Act; and the reduction was urged as a means of obtaining an early decision rather than as a sign of disapproval. It seems unlikely that the United States will abandon its policies in mid-career after only one year's trial.

The Administrator, Mr. Paul Hoffman, is directed to review requirements for aid and to approve programmes of aid, including the approval of specific schemes to increase production. He may also end aid or take what are veiled in the Act under the term " remedial measures " if he feels that a country's contribution to recovery is not enough or her actions unco-operative or if, and here we are reminded of one of the purposes of the Act, " changed conditions make further aid inconsistent with the foreign policy of the United States". But there are no limitations on the amount of what are called " off-shore " purchases; that is to say, the use of United States dollars to make purchases from countries other than the United States—*e.g.*, other hard currency countries such as Canada or the Argentine.

There is little mention of specific protection of United States interests. The Administrator is to obtain supplies in such manner as to minimize reactions in the American market—except in the freight market, where it is (perhaps unwisely) laid down that at least half of the assistance must come in American ships. Agricultural supplies that are surplus in the United States must be taken before purchases are made elsewhere. Petrol is to be obtained abroad and as little as possible from the United States. There are also some provisions directed at Russia which forbid supplies, in general, if the end-product is exported to Russia when needed either in the participating countries or in the United States. This provision may affect, for example, the recent Anglo-Russian trade agreement; but here we are on the line between political and economic interests.

Finally the Administrator is to have the assistance of a Public Advisory Board of twelve citizens of " broad and varied experience " not members

of the Administration. There is also to be a joint Congressional Committee of ten which will exercise supervision. The Administrator is to act in the closest co-operation with the Secretary of State: if disagreements arise, they must be referred to the President. Lastly, he is to have the assistance of an Ambassador-at-Large, Mr. Averell Harriman, who was nominated to this post on April 23.

VI

It is now time to examine the European organisation for administering relief; and it should at once be noted that, to many minds, any European organisation that may be set up should concern itself with far more than the details of the Recovery Programme. Such an organisation has in fact been set up; the Committee of European Economic Co-operation, the successor of the Continuing Organisation that remained in being after the Paris Report was prepared, was set up on April 12. But the details of its organisation masked divergencies of purpose.

It is clear that the French, in particular, favoured a Co-operation Committee that would represent general European interests, that would act as the economic representative of the participating nations and as supervisor of national economies. The British favoured a body that would have no functions other than acting as a clearing-house for the various countries in receipt of aid. They upheld the national approach against the international—possibly fearing that they might get out of touch with the Dominions and possibly hoping that they could deal more easily with the Americans if they stood alone than if they stood in a queue. For the moment, at least, the British point of view has prevailed: the emphasis is to be on co-operation, not on union. It has, however, to be remembered that American influence will traditionally lean in favour of union.

This body, then, will confine itself, in conjunction with the Ambassador-at-Large, to the co-ordination of what the State Department terms "operations in Europe". The Ambassador, it seems, will also be guided by special representatives in each major participating country. These arrangements will no doubt be subject to revision in the light of experience.

We may now examine some of the practical problems that will arise almost immediately. The first step to be taken by any participating country is to sign a "letter of intent" to negotiate a bilateral agreement with the United States. These agreements will comprise a declaration that the participating country will adhere to the policy and purpose of the Foreign Assistance Act. They will also contain a highly interesting clause to the effect that the recipient country will undertake to make deposits of its own currency commensurate with the dollar amount of assistance furnished by grant. A similar undertaking is to be included in each agreement. These deposits will be available for the administrative expenses of the Programme and for such other purposes as may be agreed

to between the two Governments. Primarily, this may be explained by the need to avoid inflation arising through large-scale imports under the scheme; but when these balances mount up, as they will do so long before 1951, they will present opportunities for imaginative schemes of capital expenditure. There are possibilities in this device: the possibilities are largely what the United States cares to make them.

It is clear that the policy of the United States must deeply influence the actions of European states not merely during the life of the Recovery Programme but for years to come. It is inevitable, if ungenerous, that the conditions under which assistance is given should be widely canvassed. It has been seen that the conditions in the Act are light enough: their practical application may be more weighty. Perhaps it will be sufficient at this stage to indicate points on which discussion may turn in the future. It is clear that the United States will not overtly intervene in the internal policies of other countries; but it could happen that decisions taken under the Programme might have political implications. Is it possible, for example, that the world shortage of steel should be adduced as a reason why British shipbuilding should be curtailed? Are there not many United States ships lying idle? The British, the Norwegians and the Dutch might protest that there are two sides to such questions. How far, again, is the heavy industry of western Germany to be revived? This raises international issues that may appear simpler when viewed across the Atlantic than when viewed across the Rhine. Perhaps the difficulty may be put this way. If the Programme is to be successful—if, that is, Europe is not to be on permanent outdoor relief—it must become able to sell to the United States and to make for itself many goods that it now buys from them. That is the only long-term solution; but its achievement will damage American interests.

One last example may be taken. In the past, the United States has objected as strongly to the Sterling Area as to Imperial Preference. The merits and demerits of one and the other need not be discussed now. But the Americans feel, firstly, that the sterling pool is a means whereby Great Britain acquires control of all dollars accruing to each member. Secondly, they are reported to feel that if Great Britain makes goods with Marshal dollars, she should export them to dollar countries or to other participating countries. She should not, in this view, export them to her sterling creditors. What this adds up to is that the United States may press again for the reduction of war-time sterling debts. Ireland is in a very much stronger position than the countries that have newly become creditors of Great Britain. Indeed, the relationship is of a totally different kind. Nevertheless, the point may come up.

VII

This brings us, in conclusion, to our own country and the part that it can play in this great scheme. That part is summarised in one para-

graph of the study of the Irish economic situation prepared by the Department of State. " Ireland's principal problem " it says " is the restoration of agricultural production, and Ireland's main contribution to European recovery will take place through the production of more food for export. Since the economy of Ireland is closely related to that of the United Kingdom, the major part of increased food exports will probably go there. To expand its exports of agricultural products, Ireland needs to mechanise its agriculture, obtain more fertilisers and animal feed-stuffs, increase its imports of fuel and overhaul its transport system . . . . Inadequate capital investment has long characterised Irish agriculture and much of the capital equipment now in use suffered serious deterioration during the war. As a result Ireland had in 1946-7 almost the lowest number of power units, including tractors, horses and other work-animals per acre of arable land of any participating country." The memorandum goes on to state that Irish requirements for industrial raw materials such as wood pulp, newsprint, hides, rubber, machinery and textiles cannot be fully met, but imports in 1948-9 should equal the level of 1947. It mentions the possibility of expansion in such fields as food processing and the production of woollens.

These opinions are naturally liable to revision; but they show that the restoration of the Irish economy, a restoration which will be most spectacular in agriculture but will be evident in industry also, need not be further delayed. It is impossible to leave this topic without quoting one last passage from the survey of the U.S. State Department : " The major portion of Irish exports are commodities which will remain in short world supply for a considerable time. In the case of cattle, which is the dominant export, Europe as a whole will not have regained even its pre-war status for many years to come. The United Kingdom, Ireland's principal customer, will still not have ample supplies of meat prior to 1952. A similar situation will exist in relation to most of Ireland's other exports, such as dairy-products, bacon, and other food items. It is safe to conclude that finding markets for its products will not be a major problem for Ireland ". Such opinions will find an eager welcome in many quarters —not least among the signatories of the Majority Report of the Committee on post-Emergency Agricultural Policy.

The end of an already long article is no place in which to elaborate the economic possibilities for this country. Elaboration is in any case unnecessary. For years past, the pages of STUDIES have carried articles by Senator O'Brien, Professor Johnston and Doctor Henry Kennedy in which Irish agricultural problems have been discussed. Whatever their differences on points of detail have been, they have agreed on the root of our economic difficulties. The Recovery Programme offers a new promise and a new hope.

JAMES MEENAN

THE MONASTIC LIFE OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V

BY DOM BASIL HEMPHILL, O.S.B.

FEW events have made a greater appeal to the imagination of subsequent ages than the abdication of the great Charles V and his withdrawal for the remainder of his life to a humble and obscure monastery in a remote part of Spain; and this event had an even greater effect on the minds of his contemporaries. For to them Charles had been for forty years the living embodiment of the State, the Emperor who, as such, was the foremost ruler in the world and the official defender of the Church; and hence his withdrawal from the political scene in order to live, so far as he could, the religious life, was an event of unparalleled importance and a first-class sensation. And though this would have applied also to any of his Imperial predecessors if they had taken a similar step, yet the effect was heightened in the case of Charles by the fact that he ruled over vastly wider dominions than had any previous Emperor.

I

From his mother Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, Charles had inherited the wide-spread Spanish possessions; and from his father, Philip of Austria, son of the Emperor Maximilian, there had also fallen to him Burgundy and the Netherlands, to which have to be added Germany and various states in Italy which came under his rule on his election as Emperor in 1519. And then, as though this were not enough, his Spanish generals were adding to his dominions huge territories in the recently discovered New World, so that the wealth of the Indies and Peru were at his disposal. Never before had man swayed such realms or enjoyed such great possessions, and this was the man who, to the astonishment of all, suddenly declared his determination to renounce it all and to exchange his throne for the cell of a monk. Small wonder that the world stood astounded.

But Charles had always been a deeply religious man, and his desire for the monastic life can be traced far back to his early days. Even at the time of his coronation in 1519, *i.e.*, forty years back, he had dreams of retiring from the world, and again in 1535 he had seriously thought of it; but each time he was prevented, partly by his great responsibilities and partly by the tender age of his son, the future Philip II, which made it imperative for him to remain at his post. Recognised everywhere as the champion of Christianity in Europe, he had rendered immense services as such by defeating the formidable Turkish invaders of the Empire in pitched battle and again by stamping out the fierce and dangerous pirates in Tunis, so that he was looked on as the foremost son of the Church

and her strong right arm. In these circumstances it was not till 1556, when he was a comparatively old man and completely broken down in health, that he was at last able to put into effect his long cherished plan.

It was in the royal palace at Brussels that the historic scene took place. There, before a great gathering of the hierarchy and the greatest nobles of the Empire, Charles made his farewell speech—leaning, by an irony of fate, on the arm of the Prince of Orange, whose family was to play such a prominent part in establishing that Protestantism which Charles himself had tried so hard and so long to stamp out. It was a moving sight, and his hearers wept to see this infirm old man thus strip himself of his vast powers and possessions, while Charles himself sank back in his chair exhausted by his effort. For the present he had to retain the Imperial title, as the College of Electors had not yet met to choose a new Emperor; but Spain, the Netherlands, and the New World now passed to his son Philip, and Charles was free at last of the major part of his burden.

Preparations were at once made for his departure for Spain with a retinue of one hundred and fifty persons and accompanied by his two sisters, Mary the Dowager Queen of Hungary and Eleanor the widow of Francis I of France (and now Dowager Queen of Portugal), both of whom were greatly attached to him and intended to accompany him to Spain and to settle there as close to his monastic retreat as he should allow. On August 8, 1556 the imposing cavalcade left Brussels for Flushing, where the Emperor embarked on September 13 in a specially prepared ship of 560 tons, in which, so the chroniclers tell us, four rooms on the upper deck had been prepared for him. In view of his sufferings from gout and to spare him the agonies of sea-sickness, his bed, and also several arm-chairs, were suspended from the ceiling by ropes. The rest of his numerous company were accommodated on other vessels; and as a considerable escort of warships had also been provided, there were eventually no less than fifty-six ships in the convoy which set sail four days later. Almost exactly thirty-nine years had elapsed since Charles had first sailed for Spain as a young man to take up his great inheritance, to which land he was now returning broken in health, disillusioned with the world and its pomps, and anxious only to make his peace with God and to end his days in religious meditation.

As the flotilla of ships reached the Straits of Dover the eyes of Charles must have rested curiously on the English soil over which his daughter-in-law, Queen Mary, then reigned, but which was so soon to be engulfed in the Protestantism of Queen Elizabeth; and there came aboard the Lord High Admiral from Dover to greet him and kiss his hand. A trying period followed in which the fleet was becalmed off the Isle of Wight for several days; but eventually a favourable wind sprang up and this carried the ships safely to the Spanish coast, where Charles landed at

Laredo on September 28. Here he rested for several days to recover from the fatigues and discomforts of the voyage; and it was not till October 6 that his large party set out over the hills on their way to Valladolid where at that time his daughter, the Queen-Regent Joanna, held her Court. The Emperor himself was carried in a horse-litter, except when negotiating the most difficult parts of the mountain passes when he was borne in a chair by his attendants. Naturally the news of his coming quickly spread and all the towns on his route were illuminated in his honour, while great crowds gathered to welcome their almost legendary sovereign.

Reaching Valladolid at last, Charles was affectionately welcomed by the Queen-Regent; and there he was glad to rest for a fortnight before facing the fatigues of the last and most arduous stage of his journey, that which was to lead him over the mountains of Estramadura to the monastery which awaited him. It was a relief to him when they set out; for now he had finally left the cities behind and there was at last a prospect of that seclusion from publicity for which he craved. "Heaven be praised!" he exclaimed as they left the capital; "after this no more visits of ceremony, no more receptions!" But it was a dangerous journey, and especially so when he decided, in order to save a long detour round a mountain range, to take a short cut over some very lofty hills which were pierced by but a single and formidable pass. As they emerged from it and saw the plains spread before them, Charles remarked sombrely: "That is the last pass I shall go through in this world, save that of death."

II

The monastery which Charles had selected as the scene of his retirement was at Yuste, in Estramadura, a small and obscure house of the Hieronymite Order, and it is not clear how he came to choose that particular place out of the countless religious houses in his dominions; but the Order, which had been founded in 1404, had justifiably a high reputation for sanctity and for the splendour of its religious ceremonies; and the house itself was attractively situated in wooded country on the lower slopes of the mountains. For a considerable time past the Emperor had had a body of workmen employed building an annexe to the monastery for his own accommodation, but this was still uncompleted; and so, on reaching the neighbourhood, he had to reside for the present in a castle at Jarandilla, a few miles from Yuste, which was lent to him by a Spanish nobleman. In this damp and desolate spot he had to remain from his arrival on November 13 until the beginning of the following February—to the dismay and discomfort of his staff who were anything but happy there. His two sisters, with their respective suites, were also quartered in the neighbourhood; so that altogether the resources of the locality were very severely tried in the effort to lodge and feed such a multitude.

But Charles appeared to be content, especially as stocks of dainties for his table were regularly sent from Valladolid ; for he had always been a *gourmet* and, even in seclusion, he did not propose to change his ways in that respect—to the dismay of his physician and the great detriment of his constitution. His chief enemy, the gout, was only made worse by his indulgence at table, and especially by the quantities he consumed of his favourite luxuries : highly spiced and pickled fish of all kinds and iced beer ; so that frequently he was confined to bed and suffered greatly. He was, however, at this time consoled by receiving a very interesting visitor, none other than St. Francis Borgia, who as a young man and a soldier had been a close friend of the Emperor and had shared his military campaigns. Long talks he now had with Charles, and it is said that the latter tried hard to make the saint leave the still youthful Society of Jesus, of which he was one of the most prominent members, and to transfer his allegiance to the Hieronymite Order : an idea which made no appeal to St. Francis.

Meanwhile the preparations at Yuste had been making progress, and eventually the monks announced that all was ready for him. And so at last he set out on the final short lap of his journey and on February 3, 1557 first set eyes on what was to be his last home on earth. As the imposing cavalcade approached the monastery the bells rang out and the Community, headed by the Superior carrying a crucifix, came out in procession to meet him who had been the greatest monarch on earth and who now, stripped of most of his possessions, came in humility to spend his last years amongst them in adoration of the King of Kings. It was a moving moment for all those present, and not least for Charles himself who saw his forty-year-old dream about to come true. When the monks had finished chanting the *Te Deum*, Charles was assisted from his litter and was carried in a chair to the foot of the High Altar where he remained long in prayer. His monastic life had begun.

III

The whole episode of Charles's withdrawal from the world forms one of history's most interesting bye-ways ; and if it staggered his contemporaries, it at least provokes the curiosity of posterity. His motives, his daily routine, even his intimate surroundings : all these things hold a certain fascination for us, and almost inevitably the testimony of chroniclers and historians varies considerably according to the religious or political bias of the writers. But at least it is quite certain that it was not mere weariness or disgust with the world and affairs of State that drove the old Emperor to this drastic course ; for, as has been mentioned, he had cherished the same purpose even in his youth, and moreover there is ample evidence of his solid piety and his love of religious ceremonies. And if Protestant critics unite in accusing him of morbidity because of his

pre-occupation with the thought of death and because of his flight from the world, that is merely because they are blinded by prejudice and have no understanding of the purpose or nature of the religious life. And indeed the Emperor might well be pre-occupied with the thought of death since, as it turned out, he had only some eighteen months of life left to him after his arrival at Yuste.

In point of fact it would seem that not only had he a very real desire to atone for his sins, but also the life of prayer and worship had in itself a strong attraction for him. Father Brodrick goes so far as to describe him as " a mystic in the guise of an Emperor " and speaks of his " splendid Catholicism " ;[1] at any rate it is at least certain that his religion meant a very great deal to him and that it was no mere desire for rest that brought him to Yuste. Naturally his age and infirmities made it impossible for him to practise all the austerities of the monks, but that was never expected of him. As it was, he observed the fast days as far as he could, although Pope Julius III had in 1554 granted him a dispensation allowing him to break his fast before receiving Holy Communion—" not only," as the Papal document declares, " on account of his health, but of the pious zeal with which he has ever stood forth as the defender of the Catholic Faith". Every Friday in Lent he followed the example of the monks in scourging himself till he drew blood ; and on Good Friday not only did he do this, but he also made all his numerous household (some of them not noted for piety) do the same. In short the Emperor may fairly be said to have done as much as could reasonably be expected of him in the monastery, and it is clear that the monks themselves were definitely edified by his behaviour ; while even the Protestant historians who have many sarcastic things to say about his " bigotry," his gluttony, and his continued worldliness, admit (in the words of Prescott) that " he set an edifying example in his own person". He would, in fact, have liked to do greater penance had he been able, and he himself told St. Francis Borgia that he lamented that he could not dispense with a bed and sleep in his clothes.

Owing to the frequent severe attacks of gout from which he greatly suffered, it happened that Charles was often unable to be present in the church, and therefore when his quarters were being built he had arranged that his private rooms should be adjoining the church, so that a window could be made in his bedroom looking directly into the chancel. In this way he was able to see the High Altar as he lay in bed and so participate in the Mass. But normally he rose early and in his morning devotions was assisted by his confessor Fr. Juan de Regla, with whom also later in the day he would discuss theological problems during dinner. In the morning he generally had to give audiences to several people on state business, for he was by no means entirely cut off from the world, and he

[1] *St. Peter Canisius*, p. 217.

still took keen interest in the welfare of his former dominions—especially those ruled over by his son Philip, who constantly sought his advice. At noon he generally attended a public Mass, but also while at Yuste he always had four Masses said every day : two for the souls of his parents, one for his deceased wife, and one for himself ; indeed he heard the Mass for the Empress every day as soon as he had risen. Dinner followed the noonday Mass, and if the aforementioned theological discussion did not accompany it there was instead spiritual reading with a running commentary by Charles. The reading was generally from the works of either St. Bernard or St. Jerome, these being the Emperor's favourites. Afterwards Charles enjoyed a siesta and then, on three days of the week, went to the church to hear a sermon, while on the other days he had Scripture read to him—especially the Epistle to the Romans. More state business followed, chiefly the reading and answering of despatches from Philip ; and then the Emperor attended Vespers in Choir, and the day ended with supper.

It will be generally granted that for an elderly and infirm man, who had lived all his life in the world outside the cloister and was not accustomed to monastic austerity and prolonged devotions, this was a very creditable attempt to lead the religious life and probably much more than could have been done by any of the historians who so persistently belittle him and sneer at his effort. That he received the grace to make the attempt at all may well be due to the fact that, as he himself declared, he had not passed a single day since the age of 21 in which he had not devoted at least some time to mental prayer : a notable and edifying fact in view of the strenuous and busy life he had led.

IV

Naturally the routine at Yuste did not appeal at all to the fifty followers whom Charles had induced to remain with him there (the other hundred of the original 150 having been sent home on his arrival in Spain). They were mostly Flemings, who did not aspire to a religious vocation, disliked and despised the monks, and still more disliked the locality which was remote, damp, and sparsely inhabited. It was only their life-long devotion to Charles himself that induced them to stay with him ; but their complaints and lamentations were many. Yet they realised that Charles was happy and that there was no chance of inducing him to leave ; so that in August the major-domo of the household reports in a letter that " the Emperor enjoys his present quiet life, has no desire to exchange it for any other, and, in short, is the most contented man in the world".

So time went by, and in September of that first year Charles was visited by his two sisters, who had till then remained at Jarandilla as their brother had not allowed them to settle at Yuste. Very dissimilar in character—for Eleanor of France and Portugal was gentle and amiable

while Mary of Hungary was more masculine and capable and had proved a successful Governor of the turbulent Netherlands—these two were alike in having a great affection and admiration for their illustrious brother ; and on this occasion, to the despair of the major-domo who had to lodge and feed their numerous retinues, they stayed for three months at Yuste. It was the last time that the three were to be together, for soon after the New Year (1558) news came of the death of Queen Eleanor while on a pilgrimage to Guadulupe. Both Charles and his surviving sister were greatly shaken by this blow ; and Mary, in search of consolation, came to spend a fortnight with him. Charles himself, on first hearing of the death, declared with tears in his eyes : " She was a good Christian. We always loved each other. She was older than I by 15 months, and before that time has elapsed I shall probably be with her." As it turned out he died in less than half that time.

As that spring changed slowly into summer the weary Emperor thought more and more of his coming end, and he welcomed the news in April that his renunciation of the Empire had at last been officially accepted by the Electoral College who had chosen his brother Ferdinand to succeed him. Thereupon Charles punctiliously insisted on all imperial emblems being removed from his property. His shields and seals were altered and he ordered his name to be deleted from the Missal, saying : " As for me, the name of Charles is enough ; henceforth I am nothing."[1] In August he had the novel idea of having the complete funeral service repeated for his long-deceased parents with great pomp : Solemn Mass, catafalques, Office of the Dead and the burial prayers ; and so deeply was he moved by this that (it is said) he consulted his confessor as to whether he could not have the same thing done for himself while he was yet alive, that so he might have the better dispositions for death, which he felt to be not far off. According to the contemporary chroniclers this was permitted. The whole church was hung with black and lighted with a blaze of candles round the immense catafalque, while Charles himself, muffled in a black mantle and bearing a candle, mingled with the great crowd which had gathered for the occasion and, with emotion and piety, watched his own " obsequies". At the conclusion of the ceremonies he placed his lighted candle in the hand of a priest in sign of giving up his soul to God.

V

But in actual fact Charles had but a month more to live ; for on August 30 he was seized with illness, accompanied by violent pains in the head, and lost consciousness for some hours. Next day he made his confession

[1] After he had been at Yuste a year, he was asked by the Prior whether he wished to make his religious profession, and he replied that he did ; it would seem that he actually went through the ceremony.

and received Holy Communion, on which occasion he insisted, despite his weakness, on kneeling for a full quarter of an hour in his bed and expressing deep contrition for the sins of his life. That day, in accordance with the medical practice of the time, the doctor took from him ten ounces of thick black blood and, on the same evening, eight more. A few days later he had violent paroxysms and became unconscious for many hours. Plainly the end was not far off, but Charles would not allow a visit from his daughter Queen Joanna of Spain. He desired to be buried at Yuste and that the body of his Empress, who had died 19 years earlier, should be brought from Granada and laid beside his own ; but he was told that Yuste was too small a place and too remote, so that he eventually agreed to be laid there only temporarily and that Philip should decide his permanent resting place. On September 11 he developed a fever, together with ague, and on the 17th he was insensible for 20 hours. Two days later he had another long spell of unconsciousness and, on recovering from it, he was anointed. This was a most affecting ceremony attended by all the monks and in the presence of the Archbishop of Toledo. The lengthy rite of the monks, which included the penitential psalms, was used, and Charles joined in it with great devotion.

Charles had now but two days to live, and on the 20th he received Holy Viaticum, exclaiming as the Host was brought to him : " Lord God of truth, my Redeemer, into Thy hands I commend my spirit." There followed Mass, and we are told that he showed the utmost devotion, feebly beating his breast at the *Agnus Dei* with deepest humility and contrition. After that he had no further pain, and his faculties remained unimpaired to the end. At this stage he was greatly consoled by the arrival of candles from the sanctuary of Our Lady of Montserrat, as well as the crucifix which had helped the Empress in her last hours ; indeed his look of peace impressed all those standing by. But as night came on he was visibly sinking, and the prayers around him were redoubled. At midnight he was extremely weak but still conscious, and soon after 2 a.m. he felt his own pulse and slowly shook his head to show that all was nearly over. Shortly afterwards he signed for the blessed candle to be lit, and the crucifix was put in his hand. Kissing it, he held it fervently to his breast, and then it was held before his glazing eyes by the Archbishop of Toledo. Suddenly, with a supreme effort, the dying monarch cried out : " Now it is time," stretched out his left arm as though to embrace the crucifix, loudly cried out the Holy Name of Jesus and, falling back on his pillow with a convulsive sigh, expired. The greatest monarch of the sixteenth century had passed away in the monastic surroundings which he had so long desired, and with his passing there ended an epoch in European history.

The news of his death caused an immense sensation throughout Europe and elaborate church ceremonies were held throughout the Empire,

the most magnificent of them all being in the historic church of St. Gudule in Brussels, where Philip himself, surrounded by the greatest statesmen, generals, and nobles of his dominions, attended the singing of the Office of the Dead and the Requiem Mass. That ancient building has in its long history seen many notable ceremonies, but probably none as impressive as that which crowded it to the doors on that winter day of 1558. Meanwhile back at Yuste equally elaborate, if somewhat more cramped, ceremonies were carried out. First of all the coffin was lowered through the window of the late Emperor's room to the floor of the adjoining church, where it was placed upon a huge catafalque emblazoned with the Imperial arms and surrounded with countless candles. The whole church was hung with black and was packed for many days with a vast crowd mourning for the dead ruler. For three days the body lay in state, and the Requiem Masses and Office for the Dead were continuously kept up, after which the burial took place just beside the High Altar. But for six more days the religious services continued, and it was only at the close of these nine days of ceremonies that the crowds began to melt away and that Yuste started to relapse into the quiet obscurity which had been its lot before the coming of Charles.

Not till twelve years later (1570) was Philip able to visit the place and to pray at the tomb of his illustrious father; but four years after that he had the body, together with those of several other of his ancestors, removed to the newly-built and magnificent Escorial near Madrid. The little monastery at Yuste was granted the title of "Royal" in memory of its brief spell of fame; but it gradually became more and more neglected, and was eventually, to a great extent, destroyed by the French in 1810 during the Peninsular War, while the little that was left was plundered by local insurgents ten years later. And although the monks, with that persistence which has always marked the Religious Orders in such circumstances, returned to their ruined home and took up the life there again, it was for but a brief period; for the house was suppressed in 1837[1] and was left to decay and ruin. But Yuste has its niche in history, and those ivy-clad ruins of the older buildings still speak to the wandering visitor of the proud days during which they housed the Ruler of the Holy Roman Empire and witnessed his devout efforts to respond to the call of grace.

DOM BASIL HEMPHILL, O.S.B.

[1] It has in more recent years been re-opened.

THE RISING OF 1848

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Part II*

THE actual story of the rising is comprised within the days between July 20 and July 29. On Thursday, July 20, the Government issued a proclamation which called for the surrender of all arms in the "proclaimed districts," in which Dublin was now included. A few days previously there had been a mass meeting on the summit of Slievenamon which was addressed by Meagher and Doheny. It had been arranged before Doheny's arrest, on charges of sedition, which seemed to preclude the possibility of his being present. But although both Meagher and Doheny had been driven through the country with a heavy armed escort of several hundred men, they were unexpectedly allowed bail, after they had been brought up for trial in Limerick and Nenagh, respectively. Both were accordingly liberated on the evening before the meeting was to take place; and Doheny has described[1] how they both set out through the night to reach Slievenamon next day. Doheny himself "travelled all night from Nenagh, partly on horseback and partly on foot, arriving at Cashel early in the morning". He there learned that Meagher, after travelling all night from Limerick, had also just arrived. Doheny's narrative throws much light on the conditions during the days immediately preceding the attempted rising:—

I

We rode together to the mountain, followed by several thousands, a distance of twenty miles. Fifty thousand men at least clambered that steep mountainside under a scorching July sun. Four times as many would have been there to meet us, but it had been widely rumoured that none of us would be there, and in fact most of those who came believed we were both in our prison cells. Besides this, efforts were made by men high in the confidence of the leaders and the country to prevent the meeting altogether. To fix their motives was difficult, but it would be hazardous to attribute to them any but the best. Facts have since proved, however, that their patriotism had even then begun to halt. The Rev. Mr. Byrne . . . . was foremost in this endeavour, and actually dissuaded the people of Waterford, Carrick and Wexford from proceeding to the mountain. These people all remained in Carrick, and Mr. Meagher was informed that they were in a state of extreme excitement. This intelligence determined him to leave the mountain suddenly and proceed to meet his fellow townsmen.

Had all these been allowed to attend the meeting, our resolution might have been very different from what it was. But we were, in fact, disappointed and chagrined. The mountain top had been selected for many reasons. Principal among them were these: Public meetings in Ireland had actually become a farce. We deter-

* For Part I see last (March) issue.

[1] *Felon's Track*, pp. 154-5.

mined to hold one from which all senseless and idle brawlers would be excluded. The difficulty of ascending the hill would, we thought, sufficiently test the courage and sincerity of our followers. Secondly, we wished for a spot not accessible to her majesty's troops, so as to avoid a chance of collision. Thirdly, we thought it would be a precaution against detectives; and finally, it was possible we might determine on some bolder step when we saw our strength.

The excitement in Carrick had nearly become uncontrollable, when Mr. Meagher arrived there, and it was deemed advisable to lead the people out of the town. The distance to Waterford is twelve Irish miles, over the entire of which the procession stretched, and so dense was the crowd that Mr. Meagher did not arrive in Waterford sooner than three o'clock next morning. It may well be supposed that such a scene of excitement, heat and tumult, afforded but little opportunity for deliberation. I was able to speak with my friend only in brief snatches, and I did not afterwards see him until it was too late to take counsel for the future.

The meeting on that day, the evening scene at Carrick, and the arrival in Waterford, were relied on by the English minister as a perfect justification for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Other and more powerful ones influenced the Cabinet, and foremost among these was the great meeting at New York, which too clearly evidenced the purpose of America, should the struggle proceed. I had no communication, directly or indirectly, with any of my comrades after that day, save one letter from Mr. O'Brien. This letter had reference solely to my approaching trial, which he signified his wish to be present at. To this letter I replied, informing him that it had been intimated to me that a number of men would assemble, armed, near Nenagh, during the trial, and I besought him to be there for the purpose of preventing an outbreak, which I regarded as disastrous, unprepared as the people then were. Neither the trial nor the meeting took place, and other events shaped our destiny.

A few days after the Slievenamon meeting, it was intimated to me that I was to be arrested on a second charge, the exact nature of which was not stated. I could not doubt the accuracy of my information, and being fully determined to preserve my liberty for the coming struggle, which under any circumstances could not be long delayed, I left home on the 22nd day of July and proceeded through the country to the foot of Slievenamon. Here I took up my quarters at a farmer's house, where I remained two days and nights, in total ignorance of the circumstances then rapidly hurrying the crisis in which our fondly cherished hopes were blasted.

Doheny was no journalist, but a shrewd and entirely sincere barrister of long experience, whose evidence must be considered in that light. His account makes it quite plain that there was not only great popular excitement, but expectation and even eagerness for an insurrection, which Doheny himself regarded as undesirable until fuller preparations had been made. The idea that O'Brien and Meagher and a few reckless men tried to provoke an insurrection among a people who were expecting nothing of the kind is obviously false. Nor can Meagher be blamed for believing that the people would rise, in view of this great popular demonstration around Carrick as the climax of many similar scenes which he had witnessed. He went up to Dublin to confer with other Confederate leaders in view of the Government's Arms Proclamation, and on July 20 a full conference took place. Smith O'Brien decided to continue his inspection of the clubs in the southern counties, and he left for Wexford

in the morning. During the same day, July 21, a meeting of the Dublin Confederates was held, at which Dillon presided. It was agreed to elect a small executive council of five members to control the Clubs and, if necessary, to issue instructions to them in case a crisis arose. There is some doubt even as to the composition of the Council of Five, because Meagher (whose memory was clouded by so much excitement) states definitely that Father Kenyon was one of the five, whereas both Gavan Duffy and Doheny say that he was not. The latter agree in stating that the members elected were Dillon, Meagher, McGee, O'Gorman and Devin Reilly. O'Brien had declined to serve on the Council, because he intended to pursue his tour of inspection and therefore could not attend meetings; besides which, he believed that there would be jealousy since only a few could be included on it.

But in fact the Council never had an opportunity to meet, because the crisis broke next day. Neither its existence not its personnel were generally known. Had it been so, the names could scarcely have commanded confidence; though all five were to attain remarkable distinction later. At this stage Dillon, a young barrister of thirty-two, was the eldest of them. He had been one of the founders of the *Nation* in 1842, but was of such a retiring disposition that he was very little known outside Dublin and County Mayo. Of the others, Meagher had achieved a national reputation as the "juvenile orator" just two years before, when he opposed John O'Connell's Moral Force resolutions in Conciliation Hall. He was now twenty-five, as also were O'Gorman and Reilly. They likewise had some two hectic years of active public life, but were scarcely known outside the movement. Still younger was D'Arcy McGee. The one man in the whole Confederate movement who had a really national reputation was Smith O'Brien. He had been M.P. for either Ennis or County Limerick since 1828, and his name had been a household word all over Ireland since the days when he acted as deputy leader of the Repeal Movement during O'Connell's long trial and imprisonment in 1844.

Before the Council was elected in Dublin on Friday, July 21, O'Brien had left Dublin for County Wexford, to stay there with his friend Mr. Maher, at Ballinkeele, not far from Enniscorthy. Early on Saturday, the 22nd, Richard O'Gorman started for Limerick to organise preparations there and in County Clare. Meagher was to have gone to Waterford early, but he overslept himself through fatigue and so much excitement, after he had gone to spend the night with his school friend, P. J. Smyth. About midday Smyth roused him with the newspapers, which reported that on the previous day Lord John Russell had carried quickly through the House of Commons a Bill to suspend Habeas Corpus in Ireland, and that a special warrant was already issued for Smith O'Brien's arrest. By Monday the Government would have power to arrest and detain, without charge, anyone whom they might suspect. Immediate decisions

had to be taken; and as O'Gorman had already left Dublin, even the small Council of Five could not meet. Meagher hurried into Dublin and found the Confederates' secretary, Halpin, in the office, but failed to find either Dillon or Devin Reilly. With hopes of finding Dillon in the neighbourhood of Merrion Square, Meagher went there and was hailed by a passing cab and found Dillon inside it. Doheny was in Tipperary; and Duffy, with John Martin and Kevin O'Doherty, was in Newgate prison. There was no time for further consultations, and Meagher and Dillon accordingly decided to travel to Wexford unobserved that evening, to join Smith O'Brien there. Before leaving, they contrived to find McGee, and it was decided that they should act at once upon a daring offer made by an Irish Confederate from Glasgow, who had arrived on the previous day. He had plans for seizing several ships there and bringing over some 400 men who were said to be ready and armed. They were to sail round the north and land at Killala to create an unexpected diversion in the west.

II

Not long after sunrise on Sunday morning, Meagher and Dillon reached Ballinkeele and roused O'Brien, who " did not seem much surprised by the news". They had to make the fateful decision there and then: whether to go into hiding or fight it out, in a rising for which preparations were far from complete, and well knowing that there could be no food supplies before the harvest was ready in another two months time. O'Brien in his personal retrospect points out that flight would have been easy but disgraceful; that imprisonment would have meant privileged treatment, since they would be political prisoners detained without a charge; and that they would thus attract much sympathy. But they all agreed that, after so much defiance and preparation for a rising, they could not now decline to accept the challenge. For many weeks O'Brien had been touring the southern counties and had everywhere met with the utmost enthusiasm and solemn promises that arms and pikes were being collected or made. Meagher had within the previous week witnessed the scenes of uncontrollable excitement and enthusiasm at Slievenamon and around Carrick and Waterford. They could scarcely doubt that, when the signal was given—even if there was no headquarters yet, and no time for a formal consultation—the people would respond to their call. O'Gorman was already in the region of Limerick, where O'Brien's influence was greatest; and they knew that Doheny was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Cashel or Slievenamon. Father Kenyon was at Templederry, between the two; and they had so little reason to doubt his earnestness, after his active co-operation for months past, that Meagher was even under the impression that he was a member of the War Council of Five.

There had been practical consideration for some months as to where the insurrection should be organised when the harvest had been got in. Alike for topographical reasons and because the popular support for a rising was strongest there, the field for the insurrection had been generally determined. The Government's forces were centred chiefly in Dublin and in the towns around the coast; and the central plain would obviously be unsuitable for defence. South of it, however, conditions were admirably suitable. The railway from Dublin had been carried as far as Limerick only a few weeks before. The line to Kilkenny was still incomplete and stopped some fifteen miles to the north. Another line had been carried as far as Thurles. But south of a broad line from Limerick to County Wexford there were no organised communications for military movements. And across the south there stretched chains of mountains and hills. Slievenamon formed a natural wide bastion at the corner of Tipperary and Waterford; then the massive Galtee range and other considerable ranges of high ground on to the borders of Kerry. In Counties Kilkenny and Tipperary the movement had most determined support, and had been most effectively organised. The population was more than double what it is to-day, and recent inspections had shown that the people were eager for a rising.

County Wexford had been less organised than the other counties; and although the memory of 1798 was a proud local tradition, the memory of failure and of the appalling reprisals that had followed it was still stronger than any emotional appeal. There were tens of thousands of people still living who could remember those years. The priests particularly were unlikely to let the people incur such risks again, unless there were proof of really effective preparation under leaders of National reputation. Moreover, Wexford was immediately exposed to the arrival of military reinforcements by sea. And this consideration applied equally to all County Waterford. Though Meagher knew well how much support the Movement had there, he knew also that five warships were already stationed in Waterford harbour, and that warships could be sent up river as far as Carrick. It would be madness to start there; but he might well hope that, once the rising started, Waterford County would join in at once.

The obvious plan was to leave Wexford behind and cross the River Barrow, which would provide a strong natural line of defence on the flank of operations in Kilkenny and Tipperary. There, large forces could be assembled and moved, with the chain of mountains and hills in their rear. Moreover, there was a string of market towns, all closely connected by road, which would serve as local centres beyond reach either of the railway communications from Dublin or of landings in the south. Carrick, Clonmel, Cahir, Tipperary, Cashel, Thurles, Fethard, Callan, and other such towns were all within easy access to each other,

and they had all been visited in recent months and exhorted to form clubs and manufacture weapons. Moreover, the choice of a centre for the rising was easy in that region. Kilkenny had magnificent historic associations, and it also had the reputation of being more fully organised than any other city. The Confederate headquarters had reports that it had 1,700 armed and enrolled volunteers; unfortunately the newspapers had misprinted the total, and said that there were 17,000. Such a force could surely overwhelm the relatively small local garrison. If the Government sent reinforcements south, the roads approaching it gave ideal scope for ambushes and defence. For all these reasons, it was decided to go to Kilkenny at once, and there call upon Dr. Cane, as one of the chief Confederate leaders, to summon his followers for a quick seizure of the city.

III

It was Sunday morning when Meagher and Dillon roused O'Brien at Ballinkeele, and they decided to head for Kilkenny without delay. They could not expect Enniscorthy to rise yet, as it would have been quickly subdued. But after Mass O'Brien called immediately upon the parish priest; and a multitude gathered round while he and Meagher addressed them and got their promise to be ready to join in a Rising within the following days. There was no hesitation in the response, though the priest had been deliberately discouraging owing to the lack of preparation. They drove on to the cross-roads at Graiguenamanagh and there found the news was spreading. Again O'Brien announced their intentions to an immense and responsive crowd. Late in the evening they reached Kilkenny and met Dr. Cane at his house.

Disillusionment came quickly; and it was to deepen at every subsequent move. Military reinforcements had already arrived, and the clubs were not even so strong as the smaller total reported to the headquarters in Dublin. Not five hundred men were armed yet, and there were barely a thousand men enrolled. To challenge the increased military garrison in its barracks would have been suicidal. So it was agreed that Meagher should go south to Carrick at once and bring up the clubs from there. The news was spreading fast. Doheny had been roused at night from his bed near Slievenamon, and he had set out to rouse the countryside. When Meagher arrived in Carrick after many adventures, excitement reached fever pitch. But here, too, the local leaders reported that military reinforcements had come in, that the number of enrolled men was not so large as had been thought, and that most of them were no more than enrolled.

Already in the previous week Doheny had found that the people were being dissuaded from attending his mass meeting on Slievenamon. The same influences became more insistent now; and while crowds of men,

women and children surged through the streets, and Meagher believed that the hour of revolution had come indeed, the local leaders absolutely refused to issue orders. In face of the military forces already present, success would have been impossible. Smith O'Brien's personal view was that a defeat at Carrick would have brought total failure to the Rising, besides killing all hope of capturing Kilkenny and making it their headquarters. But he left the decision to the others without pressing his own view. With deep disappointment he addressed them and insisted that they must choose now between Rising or holding aloof. Then they headed north again, leaving orders that the Carrick men were to follow them towards Kilkenny.

To collect larger numbers, they decided to move westwards to Cashel, where the Government forces were less formidable and where Doheny and Father Kenyon both had great personal influence. Priceless time had been lost; and it seemed unlikely by Tuesday that Kilkenny could now be seized, as military reinforcements would almost certainly have arrived. The lack of any headquarters or means of consultation was a great handicap. But O'Brien still expected that, as the news spread, spontaneous Risings would have become formidable in many districts which he had visited during the past month in his tour of inspection. It would be wiser now to seize Cashel and make that their headquarters rather than risk a bigger conflict in Kilkenny; so they pressed on there. As a base it would have fewer advantages than Kilkenny, but it too had noble historic associations.

While O'Brien and Dillon went on to Cashel, Meagher went back to meet the expected reinforcements from Slievenamon and Carrick. On his way he heard rumours that Cashel had already been seized, and that the tricolour was flying above the Rock. But the facts were sadly different. Cashel was a greater disappointment than either Kilkenny or Carrick: the local leaders refused to make any move whatever until their leader Doheny arrived in person. He had left the town to evade arrest before O'Brien started out from Wexford to begin the Rising, and was now trying to find them. There was nothing for it but to march eastwards again under the hills and trust to meeting the others who were to join them. Meanwhile O'Brien sent P. J. Smyth to Thurles with orders that all the railway lines were to be torn up at specified places.

But all hope had gone even by Tuesday when the leaders at Cashel refused to rise. The rest of the story is a series of spasmodic incidents and adventures, during days when the various leaders found each other in the district between Callan and Cashel. Repeated consultations took place. It would be impossible to trace them in detail, and I can only refer students to the last chapters of my forthcoming book, in which I have pieced together the detailed story from the various personal narratives which have survived. They include particularly those of Meagher and

Doheny and Terence McManus, who had left his flourishing business in Liverpool and hastened to Ireland, where he made his way to join O'Brien on the hillsides. Besides these and other personal records, there is the joint narrative by the confederate leaders who became fugitives in the Tipperary mountains after the Rising had failed. It was published twenty years afterwards, together with his own personal recollections, by Father Fitzgerald, the parish priest of Ballingarry.

IV

Briefly, the remainder of the week was occupied with unsuccessful attempts to rally forces in the whole district; while crowds of men, women, and children followed them about—chiefly in hopes of being given food. By Tuesday the failure and the lack of any central control were so evident that the clergy everywhere felt it their duty to try and disperse the crowds, and to discourage young men from joining in a hopeless insurrection which, they believed, must lead to terrible reprisals. Government reinforcements were already beginning to pour in, and by Friday it was obvious that they would soon overwhelm any resistance. On Friday a final conference was held on the hillsides near Ballingarry, at which almost all the principal leaders were present, and it was agreed that no hope remained. Not least among their disappointments had been the flat refusal of Father Kenyon to take any part in the Rising. He would not even allow O'Brien's emissaries, Dillon and Leyne, to ring the chapel bells, as was done almost everywhere else, to summon the people. Further west, O'Gorman had actually taken the field in County Limerick, and camp fires had been lit on the hills above Abbeyfeale. But the district between him and that where O'Brien and the others were operating, which Father Kenyon had so often claimed to be the most ready for insurrection, was left without leadership and made no move.

It was at this last conference on Friday, when all seemed hopeless, that Dillon and Doheny urged that all food supplies should be commandeered for the insurrectionary forces. Doheny had already urged that the banks should be seized to obtain funds, but all the others, according to the attested reports, held that such raiding of banks would only discredit their cause. It was O'Brien personally who forbade any commandeering of corn and cattle, and he has been bitterly reproached for it. But the evidence all suggests that the only outcome at this stage would have been indiscriminate looting by swarms of famished people who had been restrained, with the utmost difficulty through three years of famine, from seizing whatever they could find. There was no possibility even of knowing who were genuine volunteers among the crowds, which consisted largely of women and children. Still less could such orders have been controlled. The result would have been wholesale seizure of any sort of crop or stores that had been kept safe by the poorest, as well as

the larger, farmers until the harvest came. Practically no corn was left as the summer advanced, and seizure of supplies would have meant raiding whatever clamps or growing crops were within reach, or seizing cattle.

It had been O'Brien's intention to take food supplies as soon as central control had been established, and to pay for it with drafts upon the provisional government. But days had passed without any hope of establishing central control. At this last moment, when all hope of success had gone, he refused to give orders which could only have led to reckless plunder. He has been criticised also for failing to offer farms rent-free to all who joined in the insurrection. But the same difficulties arose there also, to say nothing of the problem of deciding who should be given land and of finding land to give them without evicting the tenants already in occupation.

So the conference on Friday, July 28, came to the inevitable conclusion that any further attempt to prolong their efforts was useless. It was agreed that the leaders must separate and that each should do whatever he could to rouse his own district until the harvest. That evening they all dispersed, leaving Smith O'Brien at Ballingarry, close to the commons with their commanding view of the country to the north, and supported only by a few hundred men from the collieries near by. Terence McManus remained with him, undaunted by the bitter disappointment of finding, after his years of prosperous residence in Liverpool, that (as he put it) " the spirit had been starved out of the people " by years of famine. He knew that he and O'Brien together, must face their fate, and probably never see their homes again. With them also there remained young James Stephens who, in collaboration with Doheny and John O'Mahony, was to be the future organiser of the Fenian Brotherhood in America. The end could not be far off, and in fact orders had already been given to the strongly reinforced police at Callan and Killenaule, Kilkenny and Cashel and Thurles, that they were all to converge on Saturday upon the district around Ballingarry where the insurrection was known to have its centre.

Early on Saturday morning, July 29, news reached O'Brien that a force of police from Callan were on their way, and barricades were immediately thrown up. Crowds rushed out from the villages, as usual, to see what would happen next, and there was soon a great throng of people on the hillside. The Callan police, led by Inspector Trant, had for some reason mistaken their orders and had arrived long in advance of the others. They found themselves, unsupported, in presence of a hostile multitude. Seeing the barricades and the crowd, they decided to run for safety into a house some two miles above the village of Ballingarry, which stands at the end of a drive and is surrounded by an outer wall. The crowd soon recognised their intention and rushed to intercept them, but the police were just in time to shut themselves in, though the inspector had

not time even to rescue his pistol from the horse that he left outside. The owner of the house, a widow named McCormack, had gone out to her shopping when word reached her of what was happening. Her five children, all quite young, were in the house, and she ran back frantically to demand their release.

The windows had by then been barricaded, with armed men at each of them covering the approach. McManus was attempting to pile up hay at the back door to burn it down. The mother's appeal prevailed upon O'Brien at once, and, with his calm courage, he walked straight to the front windows and demanded an interview with the Inspector. He was actually standing on the window sill, with rifles pointing close at him, and engaged in parleying when some fool at the back began to throw stones and smash the windows. Immediately the Inspector lost his nerve and ordered his men to fire on the crowd, killing two men. O'Brien managed to get away under fire. He was standing in front of the crowd, who had sought shelter but were now shouting for revenge, when the parish priest, Father Fitzgerald came up. After some discussion he agreed to go to the house and convey O'Brien's message calling upon the police to surrender. The Inspector, knowing that they would soon be relieved by the other contingents, refused to budge and threatened ferocious reprisals if they were attacked. Soon afterwards the converging forces were seen hurrying up. The crowd melted away rapidly, O'Brien and his men managed to escape into the hills, and the " Rising " was all over.

V

It would be outside the scope of this article to comment upon either the political aspects or the moral results of the Rising. Whether rightly or wrongly, its leaders, including both Meagher and Doheny, were absolutely opposed to any theory of blood sacrifice as a process which might be salutary in itself. Still more, they were opposed to any blood sacrifice that might be incurred merely in the attempt to rescue themselves or to avenge their capture. In that respect they differed widely from the the view of John Mitchel, who regarded it as a betrayal when no attempt was made to rescue him in Dublin, even though it was evident that the failure could only end in bloodshed. Meagher himself, in his impulsive way, had proclaimed to one of the Dublin clubs, when Mitchel's sentence of deportation was expected, that the ship which carried Mitchel away from Dublin would have " to sail through a sea of blood". But when Meagher and his friends took stock of their resources and found that any attempt at rescue would be hopeless, he not only joined in issuing instructions that the attempt must not be made. He acknowledged the fact openly at a public meeting, after Mitchel had been taken away, and assumed full responsibility. Whether one agrees or disagrees with his

action, one can only admire the superb courage of a young man who could face a hostile audience and make a full avowal of the facts and ask them to pronounce impartially whether he had been right or wrong.

But several aspects of the Rising demand closer attention. It is impossible for us now to judge whether the undoubted promises of support, from so many counties and on so large a scale, and the wild enthusiasm which greeted the leaders when they announced their intention, were sufficiently convincing to justify them in expecting that the people would rise. Smith O'Brien was a man of level judgment and of real personal humility, though an entirely false impression has become prevalent that he was consumed with vanity. His private papers and his intimate letters to his wife reveal how closely he asked himself, again and again, whether all this applause was to be taken seriously ; and how he became convinced in the last months before the Rising that the popular response had a more decisive ring than the applause he had so often received in the past. The main miscalculation was, of course, that the leaders expected the people would rise, and they did not rise. It is quite true that the extremely young men who were so absorbed in their political activities in Dublin, were incapable of appreciating the demoralising effects of the famine in the country districts. But O'Brien had been working incessantly to relieve the famine victims in Limerick and Clare, and he had been regarded as the chief champion of famine relief for the whole of Ireland. His correspondence had brought him harrowing reports from all parts, and he was one of the chief channels for distributing relief sent from America and elsewhere.

The most definite miscalculation was the hope that the clergy would take an active part in the insurrection. On this matter O'Brien, as a Protestant, had always felt unable to form an opinion. He did not know the younger priests upon whom Duffy and Meagher and others had based such exaggerated hopes. But his visit to France after the Revolution, in company with Meagher and O'Gorman, had impressed him greatly. There he saw priests openly leading or taking part in popular processions. Undoubtedly there were, in Ireland, young priests who offered encouragement and active assistance, among them the future Archbishop Croke. But the Young Irelanders derived their hope of clerical support chiefly from the fact that Father Kenyon had sided so openly with them and had spoken more daringly and provocatively than any man except his friend Mitchel. Father Kenyon had sent to O'Brien, shortly after their return from France, a letter reporting the meeting of ten thousand men at which he had presided at Templederry. He claimed that it represented nineteen large parishes, including important towns, and he enclosed the resolutions in which they pledged themselves with solemn words to give every support to the three " prosecuted patriots " in whatever enterprise they undertook. He had been conspicuously present in court when Mitchel appealed

for volunteers to carry on his work, and when the Executive of the Confederation was a few days later reconstructed to make it more efficient, Father Kenyon and Meagher together were returned at the head of the poll. Yet when the Rising took place six weeks later, Father Kenyon absolutely refused to take part in it, and he retired into private life. The story cannot be examined here, but I hope to set forth all the relevant evidence in detail before long.

In their other hope, that the Irish police and troops would sympathise with the Rising, they were (I believe) surprisingly and to a considerable extent justified. The various narratives throw much light on curious incidents that occurred. O'Brien's method was to go straight to the police stations and announce his intentions, appeal to the police to remember that they were Irishmen, and order them to surrender their arms. Only a man of great character and courage could have attempted it, and the result was surprising. In no case, even when the leaders were proclaiming their intentions to wildly excited crowds, did the police even attempt to interfere. At Killenaule, when he first came to the barracks, the police expressed sympathy, explained meekly that they would be disgraced if they surrendered without being faced by an overpowering armed force, and then ran away. Even in the final scene at Ballingarry the police did not open fire till stones were being thrown at the windows of the house where they were besieged, and then under orders from their Inspector. Still more striking were the two encounters with the Royal Irish Hussars. On the first occasion a troop of that regiment were in Callan, on their way north to the Curragh, when great crowds assembled and the leaders again announced their plan. Meagher describes the eager faces of the listening Irish soldiers, and reports that he himself called for three cheers for the Royal Irish Hussars. The crowd responded lustily and the troopers rode off cheering. Most striking of all was the incident on Friday, July 28, when all hope was abandoned. Barricades were thrown up when two troops of the same regiment approached, and it was assumed that they had come to arrest O'Brien. Dillon and a few men manned the first barricade, almost unarmed, against several hundred armed cavalry. Yet their Captain gave his solemn promise that they had not come to arrest O'Brien and agreed, after a parley, that his men should be let pass through the barricade, one at a time, without any attempt at using force. One is left wondering what the result would have been upon these Irish regiments, and even upon the many Irishmen who were then serving in English regiments, if the Rising had really started and they had been exhorted not to fire upon their own countrymen.

DENIS GWYNN

FORESTRY FOR IRELAND

BY SIR SHANE LESLIE, BART.

IRELAND, the Banbha of the Bards, once owned a poetical name from her forests. Like many other now comparatively treeless islands she was well-wooded. In the Mediterranean there are many islands which have changed colour, beauty and fertility owing to the destruction of the trees with which their Creator adorned them in the beginning. *Nemorosa Zacynthus* is only one that the poets have told us about. As for Ireland, our fathers and our fathers' fathers have told us of an Ireland which was twice and even thrice as well timbered as the island is to-day.

I

Ireland is agricultural; but there is a balance between forestry and agriculture of immense interest and necessity. For the merest practical purposes every farmer should be able to add to his independence by access to a State Forest or to timber belts planted by himself or his fathers. Timber belts will give an opportunity for hardwoods such as the conifer plantations of the State ignore. We have now reached a stage when half of the timber in an ill-forested country has been cut to meet the years of emergency, and we are faced with delays in replanting the stripped woodlands. The chances of increasing the National timber above the small percentage achieved at the best must now depend on individual enthusiasts as well as on the officials of the State. Without such general anxiety the Tree is not likely to take as important a place in Irish country life as it should, whether regarded as a commercial crop or a scenic asset. Trees form not only a principal adornment of a country which invites tourists, but a valuable crop which is worth planting, protecting and finally felling to the benefit of all.

It has been a mistake to fell purely scenic trees or superb specimens or half-grown commercial timber for immediate purposes of fuel. If it was a necessity, that necessity should never be permitted again. If the cutting continues, a full-grown tree will be a rarity in 1950; and ten years later Ireland will have joined the treeless lands of the Mediterranean area.

It is apparent that a period of planning and replanting has arrived. There have been periods over the last 300 years when tree-planting was specially carried on and other times when it was allowed to lapse and the timber to be cut. The most destructive period was when foreign ore was brought to be smelted at the cost of the Irish forests. Eventually the old forests slowly disappeared, leaving only a few wild glens as they were aboriginally. The new government made certain legal efforts to enable

timber to be re-grown by the Planters not always successfully. The new timber-growths only appeared with the enclosure and walling of demesnes. These have been tremendously diminished of late years, and the National question arises whether some prudent provision for our unfortunate posterity can be stimulated by a movement of interest in trees.

There is a chance that such a movement may be roused this summer when the British " Men of the Trees " visit Dublin in July. During the week of July 17-24 they will be able to meet all Irishmen interested in forestry, and the discussions likely to rise may help to solve a number of problems in Irish silviculture. There are a number of Irish Societies which further the aims of forestry sufficient to bring them under the Irish equivalent of the " Men of the Trees". Let them be grouped as " *Lucht oilte Crann* "! The " Men of the Trees " are international, and there will be an opportunity to survey the present position of forestry in Ireland as well as in the world. The kindly aid of the Press and the unimpaired conversational powers of Dublin should spread the gospel of re-afforestation through the country.

II

History shows that arboreal culture, with its long view provision, depends on settled times, on security of tenure in landed property, on individual as well as on State interest. The matured timber of Ireland dates from the last 150-175 years. Only very remarkable trees survive from before the Jacobite Wars and the settlement of the country after the Boyne. The survivors are principally historical yew trees, such as give verdure at Crom, Maynooth, Mucross and Ballynure in Co. Monaghan (the townland of the Yew). I know only one 400-year survivor from the oak forests. It is a splendid specimen at Caledon on the Blackwater, which must have seen old Sir Phelimy O'Neill whose stronghold was there. A great desideratum is a survey of individual big trees in Ireland, such as Henry and Elwes provided for England in their monumental work.

After the settlement of the William and Mary regime the tendency to enfold demesne and build up rival estates was widespread, but it had a good effect on tree-planting. This is the only sense in which the term Planter can preserve an agreeable memory. The beginning of the eighteenth century produced the trees which Arthur Young admired in his journey and which gave the nineteenth century the sylvan beauty which has now largely come to an end. With the spacious times of the Irish Volunteers and the splendours of Capital life in Dublin, the desire for timbered estates grew inordinately. It was a penal misfortune that the old Catholic gentry were excluded ; but it has to be acknowledged that for a century and a half the tree-planting in Ireland was due to the Ascendancy. They possessed the land and the means.

Though planting was continuous, we can date the finest trees in Ireland to the last quarter of the eighteenth century and, after the Risings, to a period roughly covering 1810–1830. With the galloping advance of population potato-planting became a greater necessity. It ended in the catastrophe of the Famine. To give work, more walls were built than plantations planted of trees, and in the general breakdown forestry was neglected. After the tragical but possibly Providential dispersion of the Irish Race there was a lull followed by a considerable planting (especially in the North) and the use of such wonderful species as the Douglas, the Sitka and Wellingtonia in demesnes which had only known fir-trees and the familiar hardwoods. The type of Pinetum with specimen conifers planted like a collection of orchids dates from this period.

With the close of the Seventies times grew more unsettled. A Land War proved later adverse to tree planting. But the planted woods grew steadily to maturity until the turn of the century. With the death of Parnell and the rejection of Home Rule there came a lull, and the new century brought the Purchase of the Land. This should have been the signal for general re-afforestation by government. There was a chance to acquire the waste and semi-mountainous lands which can never be used for pasture or arable ; but the trend proved steadily otherwise.

An interesting account of forestry in the south-eastern counties was made by Mr. Nisbet in 1903, the year of a disastrous gale second only to the Big Wind of 1839. Nisbet made five classes of Irish Woods :—

Prae-Famine 1846

1. Demesne woods and plantations.
2. Old oak copse woods once worked for timber.
3. Old oak coppices once worked for bark but since interplanted with conifers.

Post Famine 1846–1900

4. Coniferous Plantations for game or shelter.
5. Conifers on poor land for possible profit.

Nisbet pointed out the serious lack of woodland shelter in a country where so much stock is raised in the wind-beaten open. In the whole of Ireland he believed over 750,000 acres were plantable with chances of profit.

III

While Government forestry has taken a sure place in Irish life, the planting of demesnes has come to an end and half a century has seen an enormous number cut out. In spite of the gallant and scientific work of the Department, the officials have not been allowed to carry out planting on the great scale which the times have demanded, if Ireland is to approach in the least to the forest margins of other countries. What Ireland's

balance should be has never been settled, but the present percentage of less than one per cent. of woodland can hardly be justified by argument. If all the arable land in Ireland grew wheat and barley and if all the pastures were denuded of rushes, it might be possible to accept a sub-marginal timber area. Even then tourists and sportsmen would cry aloud for something to be done. Still, as matters stand to-day, a good deal has been done. The work of the Forestry Department speaks for itself to all tree-lovers who have been able to reach their sites and stations. The names of Augustine Henry, Forbes and Anderson will be always recalled with gratitude.

What has been done in the disastrous sense since the Land Purchase has been the steady felling of timber on purchased farms, to say nothing of the destruction of big timber in old demesnes. Dealers and purchasers have profited without replanting where they felled. All the official planting of conifers will never replace the stands of magnificent oak and beech and ash. Nobody who has lived through the past half century can but regret the lost pleasure afforded by individual trees and fine plantations and beautiful demesnes—remembered in home districts or regularly seen from the railway carriage or the road : trees that might have well beautified Ireland for another century at least.

I can recall three demesnes which have been cut out in County Monaghan—Castleblayney, Castleshane and Dartrey. Only the replantings, promised or achieved, would justify such general holocaust. As for individual trees, some known far and wide by a particular name, everybody has their mourning memories. I recall an immense beech at Anketell Grove (Monaghan) which carried an entire rookery in its canopy. It was cut at the Purchase ; but a dispute followed between two claimants and the mighty trunk was left to rot by the roadside. Such trees should be scheduled and passed down to posterity. After all we ourselves are somebody's posterity and enjoy the free gifts of generations of dead tree-planters.

What can individuals do in the near future ? Those who own any remnant of estate or dismantled woods can throw themselves into immediate tree-planting. Success depends on the propinquity of a good nursery garden. It is worth while making a nursery of one's own. Excellent as our professional tree-nurserymen are, there should be one within easy reach in every county. Tree-planting is rewarded immediately by government grants per acre. Inspectors will insist on wire, which is not easily obtainable to-day ; but there are hares, goats and rabbits to be kept at bay.

Foresters filling in small corners are beginning to ask what species like Walnut and Corsican Pine can be considered immune to rabbits. One answer is that any trees kept in a nursery and outplanted at a certain height will survive rabbits and such " small deer ". This involves what

can only be called "hole-and-corner planting"; but in the present desperate situation of Irish timber it has become essential if the countryside is to recover its arboreal strength and beauty. The Government plant evergreen conifers steadily, so that the hardwoods become the duty of the individual. To plant a monkey-puzzle in a suburban backyard does not constitute forestry, but it shows the right spirit. The farmer who improves his farm with a belt of ash, Scotch and larch, protected by a rim of Contorta, is a forester in a small way.

Farmers who possess a wild half-mountainy slope rich in gorse or rushes but quite untractable to the tractor can well add a small plantation to the nation's assets. Nothing but timber would ever make such acreage productive. All over Ireland, visible from road or rail, are abandoned quarries, corners full of elder, glens and river-beds which would suit admirably for such "hole-and-corner" methods. If hares and rabbits are about, it is worth while smearing a rub of wet clay along the bark to discourage the rodent. Soft and appetising young ash deserve such protection. The amateur tree-planter makes his experiments and his mistakes. Every soil differs in its product, and the temperament of tree-species differs as much as in the case of horses. Likewise they are unfortunately liable to many diseases. In America they have perfected the art of tree-surgery. If forestry becomes a National hobby, we shall no doubt develop the arboreal Vet. to be called in for advice or remedy.

We shall hear from all sides that forestry is not a commercial proposition, that the farmer, like the estate-holder, will get no sufficient return for his labour and expenses. It can be agreed that the mass of Irish planting in the past century was done for scenic or sporting reasons. But it is upon these plantations that our generation have been living. They have proved of far greater value than their planters dreamed, for they met the great fuel shortage in Ireland. Is it not worth while replanting the hard-woods where they once stood and, in addition, some hundreds of acres of conifers on lands where no trees have grown in human memory? Even if afforestation is not immediately reproductive of money, is it not wise to take counsel? The value of timber is growing and its products are multiplying. Planks and fuel-logs are far from being the only results of tree-planting. Every year adds to some new manufacture out of timber-pulp. Newsprint alone would be a priority call on Irish forestry. Thirty acres of timber fall in Canada for every Sunday edition of a New York paper.

In the last few years our rottenest wind-shattered wrecks of timber have proved a boon as fuel. The coarsest, crooked-growing, aquatic trees growing in swamp and bog would ensure a supply of future pulp—if grown on any considerable scale. What better insurance can a State make for the future than the planting of trees? The individual forester plants three-pennies and sixpences, and in a generation they have become

pounds. A farmer who plants an acre has laid down a dowry for his daughter. If the Irish State afforested the 700,000 acres which are reckoned wasteland, we should feel that the State had insured the future and made it more possible to keep people from flight off the land.

IV

It is not only the farmer, the sportsman and the naturalist who can be interested in trees, but the school-children, whose education is far too much steered towards urban life. The proof that our education does not rally people to the land is the steady movement from the country to Dublin, Glasgow, Liverpool and any foreign land. In Ireland we are educating for export as fast as is practicable. It has been forgotten that the education of an agricultural country must differ essentially from an industrial community; yet Irish education assimilates the English as a whole—except for the religion and the Gaelic. Typewriters and pianofortes will never build up a nation, however useful or relaxing such instruments may prove to Civil Servants. The Irish nation is primarily the stock of folk who live on the land and make the existence of the towns even possible. They are the veritable "*Muintir na Tire*". All who are working for afforestation can feel that they are nation-builders and preparing the future in a way that no townsfolk can feel. As for the highly educated young men and women who emigrate, they simply make a present to other countries of their skill, muscle, brain and enthusiasms. Surely from the national point of view it is better to afforest one old derelict bog or gorse-ridden slope than to become a Mayor of a great American or Australian city.

The trend of Irish education can be easily tested. Enter any National School and inquire the professions hoped by the children. Adventure and idealism hold their place. The ambitious girls wish to be nuns or teachers or secretaries. Adventurous boys wish to drive cars or lorries or become engineers. No one ever wishes to drive a plough, and nine girls out of ten put the typewriter higher than the sewing machine. The desirable professions of market-gardener or carpenter are not mentioned or rarely; yet both of these tend essentially to the land. Incidentally, one learns with dismay that trained gardeners and qualified carpenters are becoming scarcer every day in Ireland. Is it any use asking which is the oldest profession in the world or what was the humble cottage-craft of Our Lord?

The vast areas of abandoned bog, dug-out in patches and pitted with water-holes, challenge the economist and the sylvi-culturist alike. Mountainy land, scrub and gorse preserves present an easier problem. But the wastes of bog and rushes which disfigure the countryside are open to any experimenter who cares or dares to try his hand. I do not believe that all those dreary regions must stand forever water-logged. Native

species of trees will reproduce themselves, if given a chance, behind the turf-cutters. I can only speak from my own experience of the Cor, the great bog which lies between the Counties of Monaghan, Armagh and Tyrone. Birch, Scotch and Oak reproduce themselves on the uncut heather-clad banks; but the question is what mixture of trees can be tried in the broken and water-logged levels. As it is, the birch is reproducing itself behind the cutters. On areas of the bog cut-out a century ago are immense birches approximating the birch forests I visited in Central Russia. These produced tons of fuel during the shortage. In the desperate state of Irish timber I would throw in anything that would grow. Any arboreal texture, leaf and log, is better than none.

Poplars can be spread quickly by cuttings. The late Augustine Henry bred a special poplar (*populus generosa*) for this purpose. He gave me his first half-dozen of cuttings shortly after the First World War. He warranted that they would produce a coarse quick-growing timber, which would stand wind or water and practically grow where no other timber would. With these and their cuttings I have experimented in swampy ground, and twenty-five years have proved Augustine Henry right. The first six cuttings have grown into graceful trees on riverbanks exposed to the weather and regularly flooded in winter time. They are also useful for filling bad patches in regular plantations. In another ten years their timber value may be tested. This is only one of many experiments which treemen must wish to make in Ireland. We have not sufficiently experimented with the Contorta as a wind-breaker or with the Redwoods as possible forest trees.

No one can say as yet what will be the king-tree of the country. In primitive times it was surely the oak, which left its name on so many townlands. The Douglas fir was once hailed as a possible sovereign of Irish forests; but whereas specimens can grow superbly by themselves, they do not appear to flourish so well in a grove. The Sitka fir shows signs of future power. Its rapid growth out of a mixed plantation, its colossal roots, as thick as a pony's body, its immunity to the gale, its welcome power to drink wet ground dry, and its towering cones of foliage make it regal indeed. I am referring only to the Sitkas planted at Glaslough and Caledon less than a hundred years ago. One immense buttress of Sitka roots I noted as affording hostel to a whole colony of badgers.

V

One last suggestion. The vast majority of matured timber in Ireland was grown by land-owners and families who have left a finer memorial to themselves than the tombstone and the vault. The question arises whether a clump or grove of trees is not a better memorial to any man than a piece of Italian marble. Memorial trees have begun to enter English life, especially in memory of the fallen. At least one Public School

allows a privileged Alumnus to plant a tree on leaving. Religious communities and colleges have often taken the place of the landed gentry. Could they not combine an experiment in forestry with memorials to their own members. Imagine what groves of good timber would now be in the ascendant, if this practice had been carried on during the past fifty years at the greater Irish colleges. If every old boy, dead or alive, were represented by one tree ! Colleges not wishing to devote lawn or pasture to trees could lease the nearest river glen or mountain side and arrange for its planting and supervision with the name and arms of the college erected on the boundary.

Commercial timber-growing is a matter of planting the largest continuous blocks possible. How soon will conifers repay their planting ? The results of the planting of the Snowdonia area are only just published. Not only are the Welsh now in possession of a National Park, but the timber planted in 1921 now yields telegraph-poles and pit-props. Another 4,000 acres are to be planted in Snowdonia, part of the British National scheme to provde five million acres of well-managed forest in the next fifty years.

Not many Irishmen have viewed possibilities in the million ; but when we realise that Ireland's forest-cover is under one per cent., we can begin to face the question whether Ireland is doomed to become treeless or to take her place with the timber-growing countries of Europe. Only an Ireland wholly industrialised and given over to factories and jerry-built townships could afford to be without timber as well as without soul.

SHANE LESLIE

CHARLES DICKENS AND THOMAS MOORE

BY DONAL O'SULLIVAN

LOVERS of Dickens are familiar with the use he makes in his dialogue of the songs and poems that were popular in his time: sometimes by direct quotation, occasionally by allusion, but oftenest by a humorous perversion of the original. This applies particularly (but by no means exclusively) to his comic characters. Silas Wegg had a fondness for "dropping into poetry", though he proposed to charge Mr. Boffin extra for reading it to him instead of *The Decline and Fall* because of its weakening effect on the mind. The governess to whom Mr. Richard Swiveller brought the little Marchioness to be educated was impressed by his "prodigious talent in quotation". Mr. Micawber was always liable to point his rotund periods by incorporating a few apposite lines from Byron or Burns or *The Beggar's Opera*. Among the treasured possessions of Captain Cuttle were "The Little Warbler" and other cheap song-books, with extracts from which he would regale Sol Gills, puzzle Mr. Toots or comfort Florence Dombey as the case might require. And so one could go through the long list.

I had often noticed casually that Moore figured among the poets laid under contribution in this way, but precise references were lacking. However, I recently decided to spend the winter evenings in a complete re-reading of the novels and short stories for the pleasure that they always give me—*deciens repetita placebit*, as Horace says; and it then occurred to me that here was an opportunity of making an investigation of a kind that, so far as I am aware, has not been undertaken before. Using a blank sheet of paper as a bookmark, I noted the references and allusions to Moore's verses, and also to those of some others for purposes of statistical comparison. The result has been surprising. I came across five from Robert Burns: "O'er the water to Charlie" (twice), "My luve is like a red, red rose", "We're a' noddin", "Scots wha hae" and "Auld lang syne"; about the same number from Gay; a couple of quotations from T. H. Bayly's beautiful but forgotten song, "We met—'twas in a crowd". Numerous authors contribute one or two apiece; and Byron's farewell to Moore ("My boat is on the shore", set to music by Bishop) occurs three times. Moore is responsible for about thirty, and so leaves all others far behind.

When due allowance has been made for the Irish poet's deserved ascendancy among the song-writers popular in the nineteenth century, it would seem from these figures that he held a special place in Dickens's affection. "Tom Moore is my poet", says one of the characters in *Sketches by Boz*. "And mine!" echoes a second. "And mine!" add a third and a fourth. There can now be little room for doubt that he was the author's favourite also.

In assembling the instances below I have aimed at recounting sufficient of the circumstances to convey the point of the quotation or allusion in each case and also, it is hoped, something of Dickens's humour. The classification of the songs is that into which they naturally fall—" Irish Melodies", " National Airs " and " Miscellaneous Songs". A brief indication of the source of the music is given where I happen to know it ; and the titles of the novels are followed by the chapter-references.

Moore's " Irish Melodies " were issued in ten " Numbers", the first in 1807 and the tenth (with a Supplement) in 1834. The airs, which were arranged by Sir John Stevenson, were mostly drawn from various published collections of folk-tunes, Edward Bunting's 1796 and 1809 volumes being the chief source. The " National Airs", so called, range from 1819 to 1828, with arrangements by Stevenson and Sir Henry Bishop. Most of them profess to derive from the folk-music of various countries : thus " Oft in the stilly night " is termed a " Scotch air", " Oh ! come to me when daylight sets " a " Venetian air", and " The Vesper Hymn " a "Russian air". Such attributions, however, are without foundation, and the strong probability is that the majority of the " National Airs " were composed by Bishop or Stevenson, though a few may have been written by Moore himself. For Moore combined the arts of music and poetry, and he composed the music for some of the pieces here classed as "Miscellaneous Songs". It is surprising that the authors of melodies of such beauty as the three just mentioned should have been willing to give them to the world under the cloak of anonymity.

Conscious though we may be of Moore's genius in the inexpressible magic of writing words for music, it is difficult for us now to realise the enormous popularity of his compositions throughout the Victorian age. However slight or obscure some of the allusions here given may seem to be, it is certain that they would have been instantly recognised and appreciated by all classes of the reading public for whom Charles Dickens wrote.

IRISH MELODIES

BELIEVE ME, IF ALL THOSE ENDEARING YOUNG CHARMS. (" My lodging is on the cold ground " : English folk-tune).

Bleak House, II, 18. Inspector Bucket happens to call on Mr. and Mrs. Bagnet on " the old girl's birthday", and he is asked to sing. " Not to be behindhand in the sociality of the evening, he complies, and gives them ' Believe me, if all those endearing young charms'. This ballad, he informs Mrs. Bagnet, he considers to have been his most powerful ally in moving the heart of Mrs. Bucket when a maiden, and inducing her to approach the altar. Mr. Bucket's own words are, to come up to the scratch."

Bleak House, II, 28. Inspector Bucket, engaged in solving the mystery of Lady Dedlock's disappearance, tackles the hostile Mrs. Snagsby, wife of the law-stationer of Cook's Court, Cursitor Street. Truculently persuasive as usual, he begins: "Now the first thing that I say to you, as a married woman possessing what you may call charms, you know—'Believe me, if all those endearing and cetrer'—you're well acquainted with the song, because it's vain for you to tell me that you and good society are strangers—charms—attractions, mind you, that ought to give you confidence in yourself—is, that you've done it."

The Old Curiosity Shop, 27. Mrs. Jarley proudly displays to Little Nell the advertisements for her travelling wax-work show. These were "in the shape of hand-bills, some of which were couched in the form of parodies on popular melodies, as 'Believe me if all Jarley's wax-work so rare'."

DRINK OF THIS CUP. ("Páidín Ó Raifeartaigh": from Holden).

The Old Curiosity Shop, 61. When Christopher Nubbles is arrested on a false charge trumped up by Quilp and his minion Sampson Brass, Dick Swiveller sends a pint of porter round to the gaol with the following note: "Drink of this cup, you'll find there's a spell in its every drop 'gainst the ills of mortality. Talk of the cordial that sparkled for Helen! *Her* cup was a fiction, but this is reality (Barclay & Co.'s). If ever they send it in a flat state, complain to the Governor. Yours, R.S." This passage gives the first four lines of the song, written as prose.

EVELEEN'S BOWER. ("The pretty girl of Derby O!": English folk-tune).

Our Mutual Friend, I, 15. Mr. and Mrs. Boffin are about to remove to more aristocratic quarters in Cavendish Square, and the former interviews the rascally Silas Wegg with a view to installing him as caretaker at Boffin's Bower, where, as he points out, "a man with coals and candles and a pound a week might be in clover". "Now," says Wegg, "my independence as a man is again elevated. Now, I no longer

> Weep for the hour
> When to Boffinses Bower
> The Lord of the valley with offers came;
> Neither does the moon hide her light
> From the heavens to-night,
> And weep behind the clouds o'er any individual in the present
> Company's shame."

"Thank'ee, Wegg," replies Mr. Boffin, "both for your confidence in me and for your frequent dropping into poetry, both of which is friendly." The lines are a humorous perversion of the first verse of the song.

GO WHERE GLORY WAITS THEE. (" Moll dubh an ghleanna " : from Bunting).

Martin Chuzzlewit, I, 11. The two Miss Pecksniffs, on a visit to London, are staying with their father at Todgers's boarding-house, near the Monument. On the eve of their departure the young gentlemen of Todgers's assemble outside their bedroom-door and serenade them with " Go where glory waits thee". " It was very affecting—very. Nothing more dismal could have been desired by the most fastidious taste. The gentleman of a vocal turn was head mute or chief mourner ; Jinkins took the bass ; and the rest took anything they could get."

The Old Curiosity Shop, 58. Dick Swiveller finds himself alone with the small servant of Sampson and Sally Brass, whom he calls the Marchioness. " ' The Baron Sampsono Brasso and his fair sister are (you tell me) at the Play ? ' said Mr. Swiveller, leaning his left arm heavily upon the table and raising his voice and his right leg after the manner of a theatrical bandit. The Marchioness nodded." Dick then inquires : " Do they often go where glory waits 'em and leave you here ? "

I SAW THY FORM IN YOUTHFUL PRIME. (" Donald " : from Thomson's *Scotish Airs*).

The Old Curiosity Shop, 27. Among the hand-bills advertising Mrs. Jarley's wax-works was one inscribed " I saw thy show in youthful prime".

LOVE'S YOUNG DREAM. (" An tsean-bhean bhocht " : from Bunting).

The Mystery of Edwin Drood, 2. It is Rosa's birthday, and Edwin has been talking to Mr. Jasper about his present for her. Jasper murmurs, " 'Nothing half so sweet in life', Ned ! " This is an allusion to the last lines of the first verse,

> " Oh ! there's nothing half so sweet in life
> As love's young dream ! "

WHEN FIRST I MET THEE. (" O Patrick, fly from me " : from an unknown Oxford correspondent).

The Old Curiosity Shop, 23. Dick Swiveller is melancholy through losing Sophy Wackles. He meets Quilp, the author of his misfortunes, and addresses him : " Go, deceiver, go, some day, sir, p'r'aps you'll waken, from pleasure's dream to know, the grief of orphans forsaken." This is a humorous perversion of the chorus to the second verse.

WHEN HE WHO ADORES THEE HAS LEFT BUT THE NAME. (" Codladh an tsionnaigh " : from Bunting)

and

OH ! BLAME NOT THE BARD. (" Caitilín Triall " : from Bunting).

The Old Curiosity Shop, 35. Dick Swiveller has been entertained by the mysterious Single Gentleman who has taken rooms over the office

of Dick's employer, Sampson Brass. When he is leaving, the following conversation takes place:

" ' I beg your pardon', said Dick, halting in his passage to the door, which the lodger prepared to open, ' When he who adores thee has left but the name—'

' What do you mean? '

' But the name', said Dick—' has left but the name—in case of letters or parcels—'

' I never have any', returned the lodger.

' Or in case anybody should call '

' Nobody ever calls on me.'

' If any mistake should arise from not having the name, don't say it was my fault, sir,' added Dick, lingering. ' Oh blame not the bard—'

' I'll blame nobody,' said the lodger, with such irascibility that in a moment Dick found himself on the staircase and the locked door between them."

THE YOUNG MAY MOON. (" Irish tune " in Shield's *Robin Hood*).

Bleak House, I, 6. Esther, Richard and Ada are spending their first evening at John Jarndyce's place, Bleak House, where they meet Harold Skimpole. Esther writes: " It was late before we separated; for when Ada was going at eleven o'clock, Mr. Skimpole went to the piano and rattled, hilariously, that the best of all ways to lengthen our days was to steal a few hours from Night, my dear! It was past twelve before he took his candle and his radiant face out of the room; and I think he might have kept us there, if he had seen fit, till daybreak." The passage embodies a quotation, slightly adapted, from the first verse of the song.

NATIONAL AIRS

FLOW ON, THOU SHINING RIVER. (" Portuguese air.")

Sketches by Boz. The Boarding-house. The lodgers are at tea in the drawing-room, and Mr. Tomkins announces his intention of riding to Richmond and returning by steamer, remarking that " there are some splendid effects of light and shade on the Thames ". Mr. Wisbottle hums " Flow on, thou shining river".

OFT IN THE STILLY NIGHT. (" Scotch air.")

Little Dorrit, I, 23. Flora Finching, unable to forget her romance with him of a quarter of a century ago, moralises to Arthur Clennam: " So true it is that oft in the stilly night ere slumber's chain has bound people, fond memory brings the light of other days around people—very polite but more polite than true I am afraid." A humorous perversion of the opening lines of the song.

'TIS WHEN THE CUP IS SMILING BEFORE US. (" Italian air.")

Last half of second verse :

" Though this life like a river is flowing,
I care not how fast it goes on, boy, on,
While the grape on its bank still is growing,
And such eyes light the waves as they run."

The Old Curiosity Shop, 58. Dick Swiveller has spent the evening with the small servant in the dank basement, teaching her cribbage and regaling her with choice purl, ordered from the local public-house and " made after a particular recipe which Mr. Swiveller had imparted to the landlord ". He now prepares to depart : " With which object in view, Marchioness," said Mr. Swiveller gravely, " I shall ask your ladyship's permission to put the board in my pocket, and to retire from the presence when I have finished this tankard ; merely observing, Marchioness, that since life like a river is flowing, I care not how fast it rolls on, ma'am, on, while such purl on the bank still is growing, and such eyes light the waves as they run. Marchioness, your health. You will excuse my wearing my hat, but the palace is damp, and the marble floor is—if I may be allowed the expression—sloppy."

THOSE EVENING BELLS. (" The Bells of St. Petersburg.")

David Copperfield, 38. It will be seen from the next entry that Julia Mills tried to maintain Dora's spirits by singing this song to her shortly after her father's death ; but the words show the well-intentioned Julia to have been something of a Job's comforter, and the comment in her diary, " Effect not soothing, but reverse", causes no surprise :

" Those evening bells ! those evening bells !
How many a tale their music tells,
Of youth, and home, and that sweet time
When last I heard their soothing chime.

Those joyous hours are passed away !
And many a heart that then was gay
Within the tomb now darkly dwells,
And hears no more those evening bells ! "

MISCELLANEOUS SONGS

VERSES FROM " LALLA ROOKH".

The best-known lines in this long and once celebrated poem are the following two quatrains in " The Fire-Worshippers". They were set to music by Sir Henry Bishop :

" Oh ! ever thus, from childhood's hour,
I've seen my fondest hopes decay ;
I never loved a tree or flower,
But 'twas the first to fade away.

I never nursed a dear gazelle,
To glad me with its soft black eye,
But when it came to know me well,
And love me, it was sure to die."

David Copperfield, 38. Mr. Spenlow discovers through Miss Murdstone that David is in love with his daughter Dora and that the pair have been conducting a clandestine correspondence, with Dora's friend Julia Mills acting as go-between. He forbids David the house and is found dead the same evening. Grief-stricken at having been " a naughty and undutiful child", Dora retires to live with her aunts at Putney, accompanied by Julia and her pet dog Jip, and she refuses to see David. Julia keeps a diary for his benefit. Here is one of the entries :

" Wednesday. D. comparatively cheerful. Sang to her, as congenial melody, Evening Bells. Effect not soothing, but reverse. D. inexpressibly affected. Found sobbing afterwards in own room. Quoted verses respecting self and young Gazelle. Ineffectually."

Two days later, when Jip is temporarily lost :

" Search made in every direction. No J. D. weeping bitterly, and inconsolable. Renewed reference to young Gazelle. Appropriate, but unavailing."

The Old Curiosity Shop, 56. Dick Swiveller, lamenting the loss of Sophy Wackles, quotes both quatrains but alters the last line to " And love me, it was sure to marry a market-gardener."

Our Mutual Friend, IV, 16. On their way home from visiting her sister Bella (who, as Mrs. John Harmon, has made a glittering marriage), Lavinia Wilfer proceeds to " take it out of " her humble suitor, George Sampson. Stung to a retort, " 'Oh yes ! ' cried Mr. Sampson with bitterness, ' Thus it ever is. I never—' ' If you mean to say', Miss Lavvy cut him short, ' that you never brought up a young gazelle, you may save yourself the trouble, because nobody in this carriage supposes you ever did. We know you better.' (As if this were a home-thrust)."

Fly from the World, O Bessy, to me. (Composed by Moore).

Sketches by Boz. Scenes, 2. The scene is " a harmonic meeting", *i.e.*, an old-style London music-hall. " The stout man is addicted to sentimentality and warbles ' Fly, fly from the world, my Bessy, with me', or some such song, with lady-like sweetness."

Friend of my Soul ! this Goblet sip.

Nicholas Nickleby, 41. The eccentric Gentleman in Small-clothes hails the susceptible Mrs. Nickleby in these words (misquoted) over the garden wall : " Queen of my soul, this goblet sip ! " " 'Won't you sip the goblet ? ' urged the stranger, with his head imploringly on one side and his right hand on his breast. ' Oh ! do sip the goblet ! ' "

HOLY BE THE PILGRIM'S SLEEP.

The concluding lines of the second verse are :

" Strew, then, oh ! strew his bed of rushes,
Here he shall rest till morning blushes."

(There is a similar couplet in " Oh, lady fair ! " mentioned below).

The Old Curiosity Shop, 65. Dick Swiveller, recovering from brain fever, is being tenderly nursed by the faithful little Marchioness, who has run away from Sampson Brass's. " Having given Mr. Swiveller his drink and put everything in neat order, she wrapped herself in an old coverlet and lay down upon the rug before the fire. Mr. Swiveller was by that time murmuring in his sleep, ' Strew then, oh strew a bed of rushes. Here will we stay till morning blushes. Good night, Marchioness ! ' "

I KNEW BY THE SMOKE THAT SO GRACEFULLY CURLED. (Music by Michael Kelly).

The first two verses of this song are :

" I knew by the smoke that so gracefully curled
Above the green elms that a cottage was near ;
And I said, 'If there's peace to be found in the world,
A heart that was humble might hope for it here.'

It was noon, and on flowers that languished around
In silence reposed the voluptuous bee ;
Every leaf was at rest, and I heard not a sound
But the woodpecker tapping the hollow beech-tree."

Sketches by Boz. The Boarding-house. Mrs. Tibbs, the boarding-house keeper, suspecting Tibbs of an intrigue with the servant Agnes, joins one of the lodgers in an attempt at eavesdropping but finds herself in a compromising position with him. " 'Ah, you have done it nicely now, sir', sobbed the frightened Agnes, as a tapping was heard at Mrs. Tibbs's bedroom door which would have beaten any dozen woodpeckers hollow."

David Copperfield, 36. On the eve of their departure for Canterbury, the Micawbers are visited by David Copperfield and Tommy Traddles at their miserable lodging in the Gray's-inn Road. Building castles in the air as usual, Micawber announces his intention of educating young Master Micawber for the Church. " He has a remarkable head-voice, and will commence as a chorister. Our residence at Canterbury and our local connection will, no doubt, enable him to take advantage of any vacancy that may arise in the Cathedral corps." David comments : " On looking at Master Micawber again, I saw that he had a certain expression of face, as if his voice were behind his eyebrows ; where it presently appeared to be, on his singing us (as an alternative between that and bed) ' The Woodpecker tapping'."

Martin Chuzzlewit, I, 25. Mr. Mould the undertaker is sitting with his family in the parlour behind the shop, off Cheapside. " From the distant shop a pleasant sound arose of coffin-making with a low melodious hammer, rat, tat, tat, tat, alike promoting slumber and digestion.

" ' Quite the buzz of insects,' said Mr. Mould, closing his eyes in a perfect luxury. ' It puts one in mind of the sound of animated nature in the agricultural districts. It's exactly like the woodpecker tapping.'

" ' The woodpecker tapping the hollow *elm* tree', observed Mrs. Mould, adapting the words of the popular melody to the description of wood commonly used in the trade.

" ' Ha, ha ! ' laughed Mr. Mould. ' Not at all bad, my dear. We shall be glad to hear from you again, Mrs. M. Hollow elm tree, eh ? Ha ha ! Very good indeed. I've seen worse than that in the Sunday papers, my love'."

Little Dorrit, I. 35. The heroine is working as a dressmaker at Mr. Casby's. Arthur Clennam pays an early call to convey the good news of her father's impending release from the Marshalsea. Mr. Casby's daughter Flora, still vainly thinking of " the dear dead days beyond recall", imagines that it is she that he has come to see. " ' Papa', she said, all mystery and whisper, as she shut down the tea-pot lid, ' is sitting prosingly breaking his new-laid egg in the back-parlour over the City article exactly like the Woodpecker Tapping and need never know that you are here.' "

MARY, I BELIEVED THEE TRUE.

First verse :

" Mary, I believed thee true,
And I was blest in thus believing ;
But now I mourn that e'er I knew
A girl so fair and so deceiving ! "

The Old Curiosity Shop, 8. Miss Sophy Wackles, with her widowed mother and two sisters, keeps a " Ladies' Seminary " at Chelsea. Being greatly attracted to Sophy, Dick Swiveller repairs thither to a dance, but withdraws in dudgeon because of Sophy's seeming to favour the attentions of Cheggs, the market-gardener. When departing, he addresses her in the above lines, written as prose and beginning, " Miss Wackles, I believed you true".

OH, LADY FAIR ! (A glee for 5 voices : composed by Moore).

First verse :

" Oh, lady fair ! where art thou roaming ?
The sun has sunk, the night is coming.
Stranger, I go o'er moor and mountain,
To tell my beads at Agnes' fountain.

And who is the man with his white locks flowing?
Oh, lady fair! where is he going?
A wandering pilgrim, weak, I falter,
To tell my beads at Agnes' altar.
Chill falls the rain, night winds are blowing,
Dreary and dark's the way we're going."

Great Expectations, 13. Pip having been bound apprentice to Joe Gargery, the event is celebrated by a family party at the Blue Boar. "They were all in excellent spirits on the road home and sang 'O Lady Fair!', Mr. Wopsle taking the bass, and asserting with a tremendously strong voice (in reply to the inquisitive bore who leads that piece of music in a most impertinent manner, by wanting to know all about everybody's private affairs) that *he* was the man with his white locks flowing, and that he was upon the whole the weakest pilgrim going."

WILL YOU COME TO THE BOWER? (English folk-tune).
First verse:

"Will you come to the bower I have shaded for you?
Our bed shall be roses bespangled with dew.
Will you, will you, will you, will you come to the bower?
Will you, will you, will you, will you come to the bower?"

Our Mutual Friend, IV, 3. Wegg thinks he has got the upper hand of Mr. Boffin, and on the latter's visit to Boffin's Bower he turns nasty, greeting his benefactor with—

"If you'll come to the Bower I've shaded for you,
Your bed sha'n't be roses all spangled with doo:
Will you, will you, will you, will you come to the Bower?
Oh, won't you, won't you, won't you, won't you come to the Bower?"

DONAL O'SULLIVAN

THE IRISH INVENTOR OF THE DYNAMO

BY REV. PROFESSOR P. J. MAC LAUGHLIN, D.SC.

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ONE of the greatest discoveries of the nineteenth century was how to induce a current of electricity in a piece of wire. It is known as the principle of electro-magnetic induction. More than any other, this discovery made electricity a part of our lives. We owe it to the prince of experimenters, Michael Faraday. Faraday was not keenly interested in technical applications, and his discovery would have remained a curiosity of science, a brilliant jewel of pure research, if it had not received development from other hands. A great deal had to be done before Faraday's trickle of electricity could be turned into the niagaras of power which are obtained from the dynamos of the Liffey or the Shannon.

I

The most important step in development was the marriage of electro-magnetic induction with rotary motion. It now appears that the first person ever to employ rotary motion with a practical form of Faraday's principle was an Irishman. As such a union is the basic feature in all high-power generators of electricity, this Irishman is the father of the dynamo. It is a curious fact that we do not know his name, for the history of the pioneers in electricity has been neglected. We know more about minor Greek philosophers of the fourth century B.C. than we do about those who took the first steps in electrical technology four generations ago. An attempt is made in the present article to penetrate the veil of obscurity which surrounds the identity of the Irishman who invented the dynamo.

Let me first state the few known facts. Soon after Faraday had published the news of his discovery of electromagnetic induction, he received a letter from an unknown man who signed himself simply ' P.M.' Faraday considered the contents of the letter of primordial importance, and he at once sent it to the chief scientific periodical of the day, where it was printed along with his comment.[1] By chance the anonymous writer saw the publication and it induced him to write a second letter.[2] The second letter was addressed from Dublin. In these letters the author described how he had made a *rotary magnetic machine which generated electricity in abundance.*

The importance of these letters and of P.M.'s work was overlooked until a few years ago. My attention was directed to them by an historian

[1] *Philosophical Magazine.* 3rd series. **1** (1832). 161—162.
[2] *Philosophical Magazine.* 3rd series. **3** (1833). 18—21.
The letters were evidently written in a hurry by a busy man, a lover of science.

of electrical technology, Dr. Otto Mahr, who had been enquiring into the early history of electrical machines. Dr. Mahr's researches[1] and an inspection of the original papers make it quite clear that the contribution of ' P.M.' to the genesis of the dynamo is of the first rank.

It may be well to give at this stage a short description of P.M.'s invention. His machine was made up of two parts, one moving and the other stationary. The moving part, or *rotor*, was a wheel to which steel horse-shoe magnets had been fastened. The wheel was free to turn opposite the stationary part, which consisted in an arrangement of electro-magnets with exactly the same disposition or lay-out as the permanent steel magnets of the rotor. The wires of the electro-magnets were joined together one after another and constituted the *armature*. When the wheel was turned, an alternating current of astonishing intensity sprang up in the wire of the armature.

We now realize that P.M. had hit upon the secret of building a dynamo which combined economy of mechanical effort with large out-put of electricity. The secret was a dual one, involving both rotary motion and an armature. The chief secret was the introduction of rotary motion. P.M.'s contemporaries made use of to-and-fro motion instead of circular movement, and we now know that this is the prime reason why their contrivances were failures. Only at a much later date did electromagnetic machines with oscillatory armatures, the so-called electromotors, achieve a limited degree of success. With the exception of the Abbé dal Negro's apparatus,[2] which was the simplest of to-and-fro contrivances, P.M.'s invention is the first machine embodying the principle of magneto-electric induction to be met with in scientific literature, Italian, French, German or English. Thus, priority of publication, as well as the features of rotary motion and helical armature, makes it the world's first dynamo.[3]

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[1] *Die Entstehung der Dynamo-maschine* by Dipl.-Ing. Otto Mahr. Berlin. 1940 (?) V.D.E. (German Society of Electrical Engineers.)

Dr. Mahr was for five years assistant to the celebrated Professor Matschoss in Berlin.

In spite of Dr. Mahr's efforts and the kind co-operation of our own Department of External Affairs, I have failed to procure a copy of his work (which also refers to the work of Dr. Callan of Maynooth.) Nearly every copy of the book was destroyed in the war. Dr. Mahr, who is now gravely ill, went to the trouble of typing out pertinent extracts for me.

[2] *Philosophical Magazine*. 3rd series. **1** (1832) 45.

[3] This statement is made with consideration for the work of dal Negro, the Pixii brothers (who had Ampère behind them), Saxton, Ritchie, Clarke, Watkins, von Ettinghausen, Poggendorff, Sturgeon, and other pioneers of the 1830's.

Faraday discovered the magneto-electric induction of currents in the autumn of 1831, and he communicated his discovery, on November 24th, to the Royal Society, in a paper which was printed in their *Philosophical Transactions*, **122** (1832) 125–162. Through lag in publication, Faraday's paper did not become generally known until well on in the year 1832.

Faraday himself made ' new electrical machines,' but they had no armature, and so they cannot be classed as dynamos.

Priority in electrical science is a ticklish question. It is easy to be misled by the dates printed on publications. In Faraday's time there was often a considerable difference between the *dates printed* on an issue and the actual *date of appearance*. A classic instance is connected with the subject of this paper. It concerns the Pixii machine, which was

II

It is evident that great interest, not only for Irishmen but for the history of scientific discoveries, attaches to the question of P.M.'s identity. It is worth while making the attempt to rescue from oblivion an inventor of merit and to find out, if at all possible at this distance of years, who he was.

Dr. Mahr, after a close study of the technical publications of the period, has come to the conclusion that Faraday's Dublin Correspondent, P.M., is the same person as another anonymous writer whose articles appear between the years 1832 and 1834 in the technical periodical *Mechanic's Magazine*[1]. The contributor to *Mechanic's Magazine* made use of a number of pseudonyms[2] before settling down to the Greek letters '$\phi.\ \mu.$' I shall refer to him in the course of this article as $\phi.\ \mu.$ He was an ingenious and prolific inventor. On another occasion I hope to show that he was Frederick William McClintock of Drumcar, Co. Louth, a cousin of the celebrated explorer, Sir Francis Leopold McClintock.

Dr. Mahr makes a strong case, but I am unable to agree with him that P.M. and $\phi.\mu.$ are one and the same person.[3] It would be tedious

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a modification of P.M.'s instrument. Hachette communicated an account of the Pixii machine to the Académie des Sciences in September 1832. This was reported in the July (1832) number of *Annales de Chimie et Physique* which did not *appear* until the following year. (Cp. *Philosophical Magazine* [3] **7** (1835) 421.) One is reminded of what used to be said of the evening newspapers in Paris : " They appear in the afternoon with to-morrow's date and yesterday's news."

P.M. is, so far as I have been able to discover, the first writer in English to refer to Pixii's apparatus. Two months later the machine was described by Kane in the *Dublin Journal of Medical and Chemical Science* (**3** 264.) Th description was based on the report in the *Annales de Chimie et Physique*.

[1] Published in London. The full title is *The Mechanic's Magazine, Museum, Register, Journal and Gazette*.

[2] Such as ' A.B.T.C.D.', ' F.T.C.D.' and ' ϕ.M.'

[3] Dr. Mahr identifies P.M. with $\phi.\mu.$ for the following reasons :—1. Both turn up at the same time (1832) and disappear at the same time (P.M. in 1833 and $\phi.\mu.$ in 1834.) 2. $\phi.\mu.$ is on occasion referred to as P.M. by the editor and by a contributor to *Mechanic's Magazine* [**18**, 73 ; **19**, 304]. 3. P.M. wrote in March 1833 from Dublin [*Phil. Mag.* [3] **3** 21.] $\phi.\mu.$ lived in June 1832 in Portaferry, also in Ireland [*Mec. Mag.* **17**, 185] and we infer from a remark of the editor together with a reference, in a controversy, to $\phi.\mu.$'s anonymity that $\phi.\mu.$ lived in Dublin in 1833 [*Mec. Mag.* **17** (1832) 186 ; **19** (1833) 248.] 4. When P.M. turned up, $\phi.\mu.$ still used the marks ' ϕ.M.' or ' P.M.' 5. Both P.M. and $\phi.\mu.$ deal with the same subject-matter. P.M. described the world's first rotating magneto-electric machine [*loc. cit.*], while $\phi.\mu.$ described the world's first rotary electro-magnetic motor [*Mec. Mag.* **19** (1833) 137.] $\phi.\mu.$'s machine is similar to the current generator of P.M., and neither type occurs elsewhere. 6. Both P.M. and $\phi.\mu.$ wrote letters to Faraday.

I could add other points of similarity between P.M. and $\phi.\mu.$—such as, for instance, both were experienced in the use of lathes—but I forbear. Dr. Mahr's arguments are all purely circumstantial. Taking them in order, I point out in reply :—1. P.M. and $\phi.\mu.$ do not appear and disappear at *precisely* the same time. If they did and they were one and the same person, why should they use different pseudonyms ? 2. $\phi.\mu.$ contributed a great many articles to *Mechanic's Magazine*, but in not one of them does he himself use the symbols ' P.M.' The use of these symbols by the editor and another contributor on one occasion each was evidently due to their deliberate avoidance of Greek and to the uncertainty caused by $\phi.\mu.$'s early hybrid ' ϕ.M.', probably due to the printer. 3. P.M. and $\phi.\mu.$ were both undoubtedly Irishmen, but that does not mean they were one and the same Irishman. 4. The use of various pseudonyms by $\phi.\mu.$ is a sign of his immaturity,

to give the reasons for my disagreement in the body of this article, and I refer any reader who is interested in the question to the foot-notes. This much may be said here. The P.M. letters reveal a writer who is mature, utterly without vanity or affectation, practical, familiar with developments in science in France as in England, as well informed about such events as Faraday or the editors of the *Philosophical Magazine*. He is above all natural and unstudied. His style is direct and unornamented. On the other hand, the contributions to the *Mechanic's Magazine* show $\phi.\mu.$ to be young and immature, fond of Greek quotations and lofty language, academic rather than practical, and not well informed about happenings in the world of science—even in England, never mind France.

If P.M. was not $\phi.\mu.$, who was he? The answer to this question may be obtained by widening our angle of approach besides studying attentively the technical literature.

First we must convince ourselves that the letters ' P.M.' do not stand for a generic anonymity. They certainly do not refer to such classes of persons as prime ministers or postmasters, who have never been distinguished for their contributions to science or to technology. Perhaps the symbols denote a professor of mathematics? This guess is nearer the mark than the first, but it too fails. It fails for two reasons. The symbols ' P.M.' were indeed commonly employed in Ireland in the early part of last century: as a rule they denoted a teacher of a type of school called an ' Academy '; occasionally they were used in reference to what is now loosely and vaguely called a hedge schoolmaster. The abbreviation ' P.M.' was expanded to read either ' professor of mathematics ' or ' philomath ', but in either of these senses it had passed out of use by the fourth decade of the century. These facts we know from an inspection of the commendatory letters which are a feature of the school-books of the time.[1]

Secondly, if a ' professor of mathematics ' of the early part of the century had survived to pen the P.M. letter to Faraday, we can be certain that he would not have been content with anonymity, for one of the characteristics of his tribe was self-advertisement. In order to make a living, teachers in those days had to blow their own trumpet. To keep the wolf from the door, they had to be their own publicity-agents and take advantage of every opportunity that offered to advertise themselves.

but he himself never used the marks P.M., as I have already pointed out. 5. In a loose sense P.M. and $\phi.\mu.$ dealt with the same matter, but technically their inventions were poles apart: one invented a current generator, the other an electric motor. 6. While both P.M. and $\phi.\mu.$ wrote letters to Faraday, one wrote anonymously, the other gave his name and address to Faraday. Close reading of $\phi.\mu.$'s own account of his letter to Faraday in 1834 [*Mec. Mag.* **21**, 114] shows $\phi.\mu.$ was ignorant of developments in electrical science which were known to P.M. in 1832. This point conclusively proves that $\phi.\mu.$ was not P.M.

[1] Such as the various editions of Paul Deighan's ' Arithmetic ', ' Book-keeping ', ' Geography ' and so on. Copies of such books may be seen in the National Library. I am indebted to Mr. F. O'Kelley, the Dublin bibliophile, for access to his collection. It may be remarked that the ' professor of mathematics ' of the period referred to was often a man of many trades, ranging from almanac-maker to land-surveyor.

They could not afford the luxury of anonymity. Further, their style of writing was marked by a grammatical correctness, a stiffness, an inflation, and a pretentiousness which are absent from the P.M. letters. We may conclude that the marks ' P.M.' do not stand for ' professor of mathematics ' in the sense explained. Nor do they stand for professor of mathematics at a higher level—say, in a university. In 1832 the only only Irish university was in Dublin, and no professor of mathematics there, any more than at the sister institutions of Oxford and Cambridge, was capable of making a machine with his own hands, as P.M. did. A professor of what was then called ' natural philosophy ' or of ' chemistry ' might have done so, but not a professor of pure mathematics, who in those days, as Professor Hardy to-day, gloried in the uselessness of his subject and looked down on practical applications as something of an inferior order. It is safe to conclude that Faraday's Dublin correspondent used the marks, P.M., as an individual and not as a member of a class.

III

The first clue to the identity of P.M. lies in his very anonymity. Why was he content to be anonymous? If we recall the social background of the time, especially the snobbery which dominated all classes of society and disfigured even the generous young world of science, and made, for instance, Faraday unhappy in his relations with the Daveys,[1] we shall get the first significant figure of the answer. P.M. was no full-blown professional (of whom, indeed, there were few in existence then); he was an amateur, a lover of science, a gentleman. The gentleman of 1832 did not advertise; he avoided even the suspicion of doing so. In matters scientific he went to pains to conceal his name, unless he had a position of authority or could hope for fame instead of notoriety. If our line of reasoning is correct, it follows that P.M. did not belong to what was at the time a distinguished group, known throughout Europe for fine craftsmanship, the Dublin scientific instrument makers,[2] since by the prevailing standards craftsmen could not be gentlemen.

P.M. was undoubtedly a gentleman in the sense understood in the 1830's, but he was something more. His letters to Faraday and to the *Philosophical Magazine* reveal him as a man with limited leisure, skilled in using his hands. We infer that he was not an Irish nobleman, for at that time Irish noblemen lived down to Blackstone's notorious definition that a gentleman is one who is idle and is incapable of using his hands gainfully. P.M. must have been one of those who combined the quality of gentility with service to the community, in other words he must have

[1] Cp. Dr. Bence Jones: *Life of Faraday*. 2nd edition, **1** 165, 177.

[2] An account of them is given by T. H. Mason in the *Dublin Historical Record* **6** No. 4 (1944). Du Moncel's *Applications de l'Electricité* **3** (1874) 343–5 has a notable tribute to the work of ' Yeates de Dublin ', one of Dublin's best known scientific instrument makers.

been a member of the professional classes: he was a doctor, a lawyer or a clergyman.

Barristers and solicitors were a numerous tribe in Ireland in the 1830's. One is nowadays amazed to see how many pages of the Dublin directories were taken up with their names. Like most of their brethren in other countries, Irish men of law tended to be an unpractical lot. They were essentially men of talk, not men of action. Rhetoricians, nimble of mind and of tongue, they were witty and original, but their originality did not extend to things mechanical. It is improbable that P.M. belonged to the legal profession.

P.M. would seem rather to have been a man of medicine or a clergyman. Various considerations lend colour to this view. There is first a general one. In the history of science, before the rise of professionalism, we find two classes of men particularly active in promoting the aims and objects of science, namely, clergy and doctors. It would not be difficult to compile impressive lists to show the truth of this statement for Italy, France, Germany and Britain. At the turn of last century the law held true especially in regard to developments in electrical science—the bulk of the pioneers were men of the church or men of medicine. The same law operated in Ireland where medical men and churchmen predominated in electro-magnetic research. The chances are therefore in favour of P.M. being a member of these professions. Again, in his second letter P.M. shows a special knowledge of science in France, he knew of an event there,[1] before it was commonly known in England. P.M. undoubtedly had links with France, and it is likely enough that he received part of his professional education in that country. Now, it is well known that in penal times Irish priests and Irish doctors went abroad to study, and that the educational ties linking Ireland with the continent were not severed with the coming of Catholic Emancipation. On their return to their native land, these professional gentlemen were sensitive about publicity, and they avoided attracting attention to themselves. Everybody knows there were originally good reasons for such modesty. The reasons ceased to have full force at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but the shyness, by a natural law of inertia, persisted. For many years after Emancipation, Catholic professional men, as writers like William J. Fitzpatrick remark,[2] were timid about taking part in public affairs or catching the limelight in any way. Persons in official positions, such as Maynooth professors, rarely used their own names in contributing to the *Dublin Review* and other magazines, but employed pen-names or initials. We can conclude that the balance of probability is in favour of P.M. having been either a priest or a Catholic doctor.

In the 1830's only two Irish priests are known to have been engaged in

[1] An electro-magnetic generator, without doubt the Pixii machine.

[2] *Life and Times of Dr. Lanigan, passim.*

protracted research in the domain of electrical science. They were Dr. Callan in Maynooth and Rev. James William McGauley in Marlboro' Street, Dublin. Both made notable contributions to electro-magnetism. Callan's contribution to the induction coil and transformer has been set out more or less in its full light by J. A. Fleming[1], and Dr. Mahr has pointed out[2] that it was Callan who discovered the principle of the self-exciting dynamo. McGauley, who studied at Maynooth and published text-books on physical science, was an independent inventor of the trembler-interruptor.[3] Both Callan and McGauley, it is worth observing, burst into fruitful activity about the time P.M. invented the dynamo. Neither Callan nor McGauley cultivated anonymity in matters scientific[4], and there is no reason to identify either of them with P.M. It is not inconceivable that they knew P.M., who may even have inspired them to undertake investigation of electro-magnetic phenomena. The dates of their respective publications are not out of keeping with such an event.[5]

IV

Our process of eliminating leads us to conclude that P.M. belonged to the medical profession. Such an inference is not a matter for surprise if we bear in mind the character of Irish scientific literature during the period we are considering. This decade saw the dawn of Ireland's golden age in medicine, and not a little of its brilliance sprang from the masterly knowledge which medical men had of physical science. The brightest stars in Erin's medical firmament, giants like Stokes, Graves and Corrigan, were extremely well versed in natural philosophy, as science was then called. The many surgical instruments invented in Dublin at the turn of the century owed as much to their designers' intimate acquaintance with mechanical science as to profound knowledge of anatomy[6]. Men connected with surgery and medicine played a large part in founding the Irish journals which immediately before and after the year 1830 achieved

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[1] *The Alternate Current Transformer* **2** 31.

[2] *loc. cit.*

[3] *Philosophical Magazine*, [3] **7** (1835) 306–11. Du Moncel : *Exposé des Applications de l'Electricité*, **2** 243. (Paris. 3rd edition. 1873.)

The tembler-interruptor, a device for automatically interrupting an electric current, is one of the commonest applications of electro-magnetism. It is so much used that no one notices it any longer ; it is a technological commonplace.

[4] Callan was anonymous in his religious publications, calling himself simply ' A Catholic Clergyman.'

[5] The earliest record of Callan's interest in electro-magnetism is, significantly enough, for the year 1834. A minute in the *MS. Journal of the Maynooth Trustees* for that year reads " a sum of £40 granted for the purchase of an electro-magnet".

[6] See the *Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medical Science* **3** (1847) 11–17 for an account of surgical instruments invented by Irishmen.

as high a level in scientific literature as the best contemporary publications of other countries.[1]

In one of these publications we find plenty of evidence that Irish medical circles took a deep interest in Faraday's work on the new way to generate electricity.[2] The editor of this publication was R. J. (later Sir Robert) Kane, a doctor of medicine and a celebrated scientist.[3] Kane not only kept his readers supplied with up-to-date accounts of developments in magneto-electricity, but he himself did research in that branch of science, and he was among the first to generate strong electric currents by an application of Faraday's principle.[4] Another item from the early history of electro-magnetism is connected with the medical profession. Before Faraday's discovery, physicians in Ireland gave electric shock treatment to patients by means of glass-and-silk machines. The demand for such machines, in which electricity was generated by silk rubbing on glass, was sufficient to afford a livelihood to one Dublin firm.[5] It is worth observing that the firm went out of business as ' electrifying machine makers ' a year or two after Faraday's discovery of electro-magnetic induction. About the same time Dublin medical men began to employ the new magneto-electric machines. For instance we find that in 1835 one of the new machines was supplied to Dr. Apjohn for use in the College of Surgeons.[6]

In Dublin industrial circles, also, the subject of electro-magnetism aroused interest. In 1835 we find Robert Mallet, who later became eminent as an engineer, claiming he was the first to construct and use an electro-magnet for the separation of scrap iron from brass in his father's foundry.[7]

Now, it is remarkable that there is one thread which appears to link

[1] Cp. especially *The Dublin Philosophical* [that is, scientific] *Journal and Scientific Review* (1825), *The Annals of Pharmacy and Materia Medica* (1829), *The Dublin Journal of Medical and Chemical Science* (1832—.) The wide culture of Irish professional men is mirrored in the last mentioned journal, which, under varying titles down the years to our own day, reflects also the narrowing of that culture as specialism grew and developed its present unhealthy proportions.

[2] *The Dublin Journal of Medical and Chemical Science*, **1** 224, 377 ; **2** 114, 397 ; **3** 264 ; **5** 133, 464.

[3] See O Raghallaigh, *Sir Robert Kane*, Cork University Press, 1942 ; T. S. Wheeler, *Studies*, June 1944, p. 158.

[4] *The Dublin Journal of Medical and Chemical Science*, **2** 397. Kane's apparatus, like Faraday's copper disc machine, had no armature and so was not a dynamo.

[5] The firm of Healy, recorded in Dublin directories from 1794 to 1833 as ' electrifying-machine makers'.

[6] *Philosophical Magazine* **10** (1837) 455. The machine was a Clarke, a modification of the Pixii instrument, which in turn was a single unit of P.M.'s invention, enlarged. A second Clarke machine was delivered to Dr. H. Lloyd, professor of natural philosophy in Trinity College, Dublin, known for his researches on terrestrial magnetism. Apjohn, distinguished in both medical and physical science, is remembered for having originated the accepted theory of the wet-and-dry-bulb thermometers. Dublin's chief firms of scientific instrument makers, Mason and Yeates, owed some of their fame to these hygrometers which they made and supplied to observatories all over the world.

[7] *Philosophical Magazine* [3] **7** (1835) 305.

up all known Irish workers in the field of electromagnetism. Callan, the outstanding Irish experimenter, was professor in Maynooth College. McGauley was a student of Maynooth, and copies of his publications, inscribed to Callan, are in the College library. The Mallet family were close neighbours of McGauley in Marlboro' Street, Dublin, where one of them had an iron foundry, as we learn from the contemporary directories. The electric machines supplied to Apjohn and Lloyd were made by E. M. Clarke. The same E. M. Clarke was instrument maker to Callan in Maynooth[1]. Kane, who had success in generating intense electric currents, was a friend of Callan and used to visit him at Maynooth.[2] The focal point of electro-magnetic researches in Ireland would seem to be in some way connected with Callan or Maynooth.

When we study Irish directories for the years which are pertinent to our problem, we find three medical men whose names fit the initials P.M.[3] Of these the only one of whom we know anything worth mentioning is Dr. Patrick John Murphy of Dominick St. Our information is meagre, but it is extraordinarily suggestive. Dr. Murphy was appointed consulting physician to Maynooth College in the year 1830. Seven years later he went to England.[4] In the year 1840, "Patrick John Murphy, Esq., M.D." contributed an article from Liverpool to the *Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medical Science*.[5] The style of the communication is striking. Here again we meet several of the characteristics of the P.M. letters, notwithstanding the professional tone and different subject-matter of the article. The author was undoubtedly a man of talent, without vanity, with a scientific outlook, a lover of science. There is the touch of the master about his communication. He could well be the author of the P.M. letters.

A great number of isolated facts fit into a natural pattern if we identify Dr. Patrick Murphy, former consulting physician to Maynooth College, with the unknown P.M. who wrote from Dublin to Faraday. It would be tedious to pass in review all these facts, most of which have been put before the reader, but reference may be made to a few items. It has always been a bit of a mystery, who started Callan on his electrical researches. If P.M. were Dr. Murphy, there would be an answer to the question. The dates are right. It is worth noting that P.M. and

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[1] Some of Callan's cast iron cells, preserved in the Physics department, Maynooth College, are engraved "Maynooth Battery E. M. Clarke Maker 428 Strand London."

[2] Cp. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, **3** 471 ; **4** 152 ; **6** 37.

[3] They are Patrick Murphy, Esq., M.D., 60 Dominick St. ; Patrick McGarry, L.C.S.I. and Philip McDermott, an M.D. of Edinburgh. The first is also given as Patrick John Murphy, L.C.S.I.

[4] *MS Journal of Maynooth Trustees*, 157, 218. Dr. Murphy is not to be confounded with the only Patrick Murphy mentioned in the D.N.B., after whom the winter of 1837–8 was known in England as "Murphy's winter". The latter was an almanac-maker, weather prophet and writer on natural science.

[5] *Dublin Quarterly Journal* **19** 361.

Callan had important traits in common. Both went to the best sources for their information, and they were not—unlike Kane, for instance—content with second-hand authorities. Both had an unusually firm grasp of the work of Sturgeon on the electro-magnet as well as of Faraday on electromagnetic induction, and both built well on that dual foundation.[1] If P.M. were Dr. Murphy, we have a natural explanation of several remarks in the P.M. letters, including the precocious reference to the French machine. We recall that in its early days Maynooth had close cultural bonds with France : some of its original staff were French—in particular, the first two professors of science were *emigré* priests.

If the case made in favour of the thesis that P.M., the anonymous Irish inventor of the dynamo, was Dr. Patrick Murphy, one-time physician to the Royal College of Maynooth, appears to be on the thin side, I think it will be agreed nevertheless that the case was worth making, because the making of it indicates, however faintly, that the Irish contribution in the pioneer days of machine-won electricity was very far from being negligible, though up to now neglected, whether we consider the work of known scientists like Callan, McGauley, Kane, Apjohn, Mallet and Lloyd or the work of unknown persons like $\phi.\mu.$[2] and P.M.

P. J. Mac Laughlin

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[1] Other more technical points are :—Both had masterly acquaintance with Voltaic cells and electromagnets, and the various ways of joining, in series or parallel, for the best effects. Both had worked out for themselves a knowledge of Ohm's law at a time when the law remained unknown to most other English and Irish experimenters.

[2] $\phi.\mu.$'s contributions to electromagnetism are recorded in *Mechanic's Magazine* **19** (1833) 4, 137 ; **21** (1834) 7, 114, 191, 274, 329.

IRISH SWORDSMEN IN FLANDERS

1586–1610

BY REV. BRENDAN JENNINGS, O.F.M.

II.—Independent Irish Companies and Regiment of Henry O'Neill*

VERY little change seems to have taken place in the constitution of Stanley's regiment during the first eight years (1587–1595) after it passed over into Spanish service. As far as can be ascertained, the captains of the different companies continued to be English, and only one name which is certainly Irish appears among them, that of Captain Laurence Fallan.[52] Most of the officers of lower rank also were English, though three Irish ensigns are mentioned (Patrick Dillon, Ensign Hugo, and Thomas Stanihurst) and one Irish doctor, Dermitio Harrin, who came to the Low Countries from Spain in June 1590 after having served in the Royal Armada.[53] As for the rank and file, we have a statement made on 19 January 1591–2 by Christopher Roche of Wexford that the Irishmen in the regiment then numbered five or six hundred ;[54] and a list of awards for service made just a year previously (2 Feb. 1591) to nineteen Irish and English contains eight names which are certainly Irish, constituting about forty *per cent.*[55] Unfortunately the officials at Brussels spelt both Irish and English names with equal indifference, and sometimes wrote down Irishmen as English and *vice versa*—as for instance in a list of grants made on 15 March 1594, where Thomas Barnewall and Cormac MacRori appear as Englishmen.[56] There is no evidence of fresh recruiting during these years, though it will be noticed that the captains mentioned are different from those who had followed Stanley at Deventer. Numbers seem to have fallen rapidly, for in August 1588 Captain Roland Yorck's company of Lancers had to be disbanded,[57] evidently for lack of personnel, and in May 1591 Captain Edward Stanley's company met the same fate.[58] In August 1593 it was decided to disband the whole regiment,[59] though this does not appear to have been carried into effect. Probably very few men had come over from Ireland since the arrival of the original contingent, almost the only new comers mentioned being five brothers of the de Burgos who took service in October 1588.[60] The great Irish influx was to begin only after Kinsale.

It may be presumed that during these years Stanley's Irishmen must have taken their full share in any fighting which was going on in the Low Countries, for the Spanish forces were generally too hard pressed to allow of any troops merely standing by. Evidence concerning this however is

*For Part I see December (1947) issue. All the notes will be found at the end of the article.

lacking, and in any case it is probable that the real advantage offered to the Spaniards by the regiment must have been what we would now call its nuisance value. The year 1588 was the year of the Great Armada, and it is evident from the State Papers that England was in constant anxiety lest Stanley should be sent to invade Ireland, as he had an almost unequalled knowledge, gained by his long experience, both of the military opportunities of the country and of the temperament of the people and their leaders. In December of that year it was reported that he was actually at Dunkirk with his men waiting to embark ;[61] and the province of Munster was put in readiness against him. Just a year later (December 1589) he was expected to land at Waterford, Galway, and Dublin, and it was feared he would sail in before the following Easter and " sack and plunder the towns, and take away the spoils and better sort of people".[62] In October 1591 it was reported that he was in Rome, but " determined to be in Ireland before Christmas " ;[63] and there was thought to be something sinister in the fact that, although the rest of the Spanish forces had gone down to fight against the French, he and his regiment had been ordered to remain behind in the district of Maestricht.[64] This was the year in which Aodh Ruadh O'Donnell had escaped from Dublin Castle and had begun to give trouble to his former captors. Three years later, in an address to the King of Spain, O'Neill and O'Donnell asked that Stanley and his men should be sent over to Ireland reinforced to the number of 6,000.[65] But whatever hopes were centred upon these Irishmen abroad and however willingly Stanley himself would have come back to Ireland, no real opportunity ever arose ; and even when later on Philip III did decide to send some small help, he preferred to send Spaniards under a Spanish commander.

Just about the time when O'Neill and O'Donnell were making their request that Stanley and his men should be sent over to their help in Ireland (1595), the connection of the English colonel with most of his Irish troops received a severe shock. The earliest official intimation we have of this is contained in a free pardon granted on 11 June 1596 by the Archduke Albert (who had lately come to the Low Countries as Governor) to those men of the Italian infantry, of certain companies of Italian light-horse, and of the Irish infantry of Colonel Stanley, who in the year 1594 had mutinied under the pretext of obtaining their arrears of pay and, in defiance of the orders of their officers, had withdrawn to the town of Sichem.[66] This mutiny (of which the Italian troops were the organisers and formed the main body, and with which were associated only relatively small bodies of other foreign troops, including the Irish) was one of the most famous in the history of the Spanish forces in the Low Countries—where, however, mutinies were not rare. It lasted for two full years (1594–1596) and owed its origin to the fact that some Italian companies of Don Gaston Spinola had received no pay for six years.

The mutineers, who numbered in all about six thousand, took possession

of the strong town of Sichem, dismissed their officers, chose as their leader a certain Stefano Capriano, a Milanese, built a large and a smaller fort to strengthen their positions, and settled down to live on pillage from the surrounding country. With the help of their cavalry they were able to extend their raids in all directions, and on one occasion they even daringly approached the suburbs of Brussels, the seat of the Governor and of the Court. In the meantime the Archduke Ernest (Albert's predecessor) had approached them with a policy of conciliation ; and they themselves, foreseeing the employment of sterner measures, had entered into negotiations with the Dutch enemy in order to prepare a safe refuge in case of retreat. They were wise in their anticipations, for almost immediately afterwards Spanish regiments were sent into action against them under the command of Colonel Luigi Velasco, who tried in turn to starve them out by preventing their raids, and to take their stronghold by assault ; but in both attempts he failed (with the loss of 200 men in the assault) and was obliged to have recourse to the slow measures of a siege. Their next move, when their forts had been taken and the crisis had become imminent, was to retire to Langestraat, near Breda, and there under the protection of Spain's enemy, Count Maurice of Nassau, await further negotiations. There is some evidence that the English military authorities must have been watching these proceedings with interest and not without hope of winning the Irish section of the mutineers back to their service, for on 16 March 1594 a Captain Oliver Lambert reports to Leicester that he had spent some time in Holland, " retained by his Excellency (*Count Maurice*) and the States to see the coming over of the Irish, whom they thought then, as well for the service of Her Majesty as good of the country, to make one company and give me the charge, as one whom they have known long, and Her Majesty no cause to dislike of their choice. But finding the revolt of the Irish doubtful, I prepared for Ostend."[67] The mutineers however all held firmly together and, after much parleying, marched back to Tirlemont, near Sichem, on their own terms, and remained there until they had received the full arrears of pay which they had claimed.

As far as the Irishmen are concerned, further light is thrown on affairs by an order issued on 15 June 1596. It is here stated that a pardon had already been granted them by the Archduke Ernest more than a year before, on 21 February 1595 (immediately after the return from Langestraat). The Archduke had listened to their grievances, and they had represented to him that whereas they themselves were all Irish, they were under the command of Colonel Stanley, who was English ; and they asked to be put under the command of an officer of their own nation.[68] The immediate results of this appeal were important, although at first one might be inclined to exaggerate them and to conclude that Stanley's connection with the Irish section of his regiment was severed altogether. He certainly still retained some Irishmen under his command, as we shall have occasion

to see, down to the year 1605, when still further developments took place. But henceforward both the Irish mutineers themselves and any new companies formed from now on were no longer put under English or Welsh captains, but under Irishmen, and were unattached to any regiment.[69]

On 12 June 1596, by the same document which granted a free pardon, Captain Juan de Claramount was given a commission as captain of a company of Irish infantry " with the right to levy the said soldiers (*mutineers*) who number three hundred and are in the town of Tirlemont " ; and two months later (5 August 1596) a further eighty Irishmen, who also had taken part in the mutiny and were then in the Castle of Granloy, were placed under the command of Edoardo Geralde (Fitzgerald) who, it is stated in his commission, " has served in these States both in the light-horse and in Stanley's regiment, in which he had been an ensign and lately lieutenant of a company ".[70] Fitzgerald retained command of this company until his departure for Ireland in the year 1602, when he was succeeded by Captain George de Barneval (Barnewall), who " had served his Majesty twelve years in the Spanish infantry, and in the infantry of his own nation, and had been ensign and lieutenant".[71] Yet a third Irish company of infantry was formed about this same time under the command of Captain Lorenço Barnaval (Barnewall), but as we learn later on from the orders for its disbandment in January 1605, there were in it, along with the Irishmen, some English and Scots.[72] Passing references occur during these same years to yet a fourth and a fifth Irish company under the commands respectively of Captains Alexandro Eustace and Guillermo Wals[73] (William Walsh), concerning the last of whom it is stated in his commission (2 April 1605) that " he had come to this country with sixty men raised by himself in Ireland at his own expense," and that he was to bring his company up to the strength of two hundred.[74]

During the years from 1595 onwards we have fuller information concerning the campaigns and actions in which the men took part, though it is not easy to be sure whether those who are described as Irishmen were always really such, or whether under this name were included also the English and Scots who continued to serve under Stanley. There are said to have been one thousand Irishmen in the army of the Archduke Albert at Valenciennes in April 1596, when he moved down into France to assist the Catholic League, and they went forward with him to the siege and capture of Calais. No doubt they served during the whole of this campaign, which included the capture of the towns of Guiles, Ham, and Ardres.[75] In the following year (1597) they took part in the famous capture of Amiens, with its immense stores of French supplies and munitions, by Captain Porto Carrero, who lost only three or four men in the exploit ; and when the city was besieged in turn by the French, it was only Stanley's men who succeeded in bringing in any relief. They also took part in yet

another attempt made by the Spaniards to recapture it after the French success. An award of four hundred crowns was afterwards made to Captain Bostock, who commanded an Irish company still under Stanley, for his distinguished services on these occasions ; and a special award of four crowns monthly was made to Thomas Barri for the same reason.[77] In 1598 one thousand Irishmen under Stanley took part in the siege and capture of Rheinbergh[78] (under the supreme command of the Admiral of Arragon), and in 1599 their regiment co-operated in the unsuccessful attempt to take Zaltbommel, an island which lies at the confluence of the Waal and the Meuse.[79] In 1600 Captain Bostock was killed while fighting with his Irishmen at the battle of the Dunes (better known as the battle of Nieuport) near Ostend, one of the fiercest engagements of the whole war ;[80] and at the famous siege of Ostend (1601–4), where the whole regiment appears to have been engaged, explicit reference is also made to the unattached Irish companies of Captains John Claremount, Edward Fitzgerald, and George Barnewall—some of Barnewall's men being singled out for special awards for their services. On 22 June 1603, for instance, a grant of two crowns monthly was made to Walter Sachet, who "had served his Majesty for four years on different occasions and especially at the siege of Ostend, when he had reconnoitred an enemy boat thought to contain incendiary devices, and had brought back two prisoners ;[81] and on 14 December 1603 awards were made to Ensign Juan Esmite, Juan Conor, Humfray Plunquet, Guillermo Frayn, and Juan Geraldin, because "on the day the enemy set fire to the platform, they exercised all care and diligence in extinguishing the conflagration".[82] It is worthy of note that while this siege of Ostend was at its height, all important as it was and demanding every effort on the part of the forces which Spain had at her disposal in the Low Countries, nevertheless some of the men of Barnewall's company, apparently at the request of Hugh O'Neill, were given licence to proceed to Ireland, where they had heard they could better serve the King of Spain. Their names appear in the official records as Hugo Shaganes (Shaughnessy), Manes Dogorton (Dogherty ?), Juan Doyn, Diego Riordan, Henrique Walsh, Oliver Wessels, Guiliam Sachnez (Shaughnessy), and Ensign Roberto Daniel.[83] They were evidently picked men, whose particular abilities would have made them especially useful to O'Neill. On 30 June 1602, licence for Ireland for the same motive was given to Captain Eduardo Gerardin (as already mentioned), Zierlok Mahohier, Bernardo Milligan (who belonged to the company of lancers of Captain Juan de Silva) and Thomas Barry (who at the time belonged to a company of German infantry under the command of Captain Heyk).[84] In July 1602 an English agent at Paris reported to his government the presence of some of these and of several other Irishmen in the French capital, to the number of thirty-eight, all passing through from the Low Countries to Spain on their way to Ireland.[85]

The history of Irish swordsmen in the Low Countries enters upon yet another and a far more important phase of development in the year 1605. The days both of any connection with Stanley's regiment and of independent companies had now come to an end, and henceforward we have to do with full Irish regiments under exclusively Irish command; but before we deal with this it may be useful to make two preliminary remarks. In the first place, from the early part of this year onwards, whenever Irish troops were to be raised for this foreign service, it became necessary to negotiate first with the English authorities in London. The earliest example of such negotiations that so far has come to light dates from 30 April 1605, when the Baron of Hoboken, who was Agent in London for the Court of Brussels, reports that he had spent the whole evening negotiating the levy of two thousand English, fifteen hundred Scots, and five hundred Irish, for the service of the Archdukes.[86] It would appear that any Irishmen who had come over since 1586 had done so entirely on their own initiative, no doubt because they had been but few in number and probably had come through Spain. From now onwards, however, when the numbers would be increasingly larger, licence had to be procured and paid for according to the number of the men levied. At first sight it may appear an exaggeration to say that the men were bought and sold at so much *per* head, but ultimately this is the plain truth; and as Spain's needs increased during the seventeenth century and as other countries, France especially, came into the market, the price demanded by London for the licence increased in proportion.

In the second place, whatever the authorities in London may have thought about the advisability of permitting any one levy in particular (and of course they could always exercise an embargo), their representatives in Ireland were only too glad to get rid of the fighting men at home—particularly after any period of war or disturbance. We have had some indication of this already in the remarks of Leicester to Walsyngham.[87] It made very little difference whether those who had just laid down their arms had been fighting for their native leaders or in the interests of England. They were trained, disciplined, and seasoned, and for that very reason alone they constituted a possible danger, since their fighting spirit might easily respond to any patriotic incitement. Only just four years before the time with which we are dealing, Lord Deputy Mountjoy expresses his ideas on the point with cold-blooded cynicism; and only a little later Chichester, by forcing some six thousand Irishmen into the service of Sweden, showed that he was of the same mind.[88] The letter of Mountjoy, written to the Privy Council on 1 May 1601, sums up the situation so clearly that it is well worthy of being recalled—all the more so as it makes special reference to the Irish and the Low Countries. "It may please your lordships," he writes, "to give me leave to wage (*hire out*) some of these Irish by agreement and (for) a certain time, as they use among them-

selves, whereby by them I should consume many of the rebels and by the rebels consume many of them, and both for the good of the service. For I dare assure your lordships there rests little now to settle this kingdom but some way to rid the idle swordsmen of both sides, and that the English owners would or were able to inhabit their own lands. For the first, I find the Irishry at this time much to affect some journey into the Low Countries, or to the Indies, or to be led to any other place of service."[89]

The earliest intimation we have of the new development of Irish military strength in the armies of the Low Countries is contained in a letter of Philipp III of Spain, dated at Olmedo 22 September 1605, in which he orders that pay of 220 crowns monthly is to be issued in future at Brussels to Don Henrique O'Neill, son of the Earl.[90] Unfortunately the text itself of this letter has not yet come to light, but it is evident from subsequent developments that it must have accompanied the notification of Henry's appointment as colonel of a full Irish regiment, which was to be raised immediately. We may recall about Henry O'Neill that on 19 April 1600 he had been sent by his father, together with three other youths, as a hostage to the King of Spain on the promise that within six weeks of his arrival a Spanish army would be landed in Ireland.[91] Nine months later he is reported to be in good health at Salamanca, where he appears to have lived in the monastery of the Franciscans until towards the end of the year 1605,[92] perhaps completing his education. It had even been reported to the English government that he had joined the Franciscan Order and that the King of Spain could not get him out again when he had need of his services.[93] Nevertheless, he was in Brussels by 2 December 1605, on which date his pay was issued to him;[94] and on 11 December we find the first mention of an appointment to his new regiment in the person of William Barry, who was to serve as one of the chaplains.[95] There is no official statement as to what the full strength of this regiment was to be; but, as far as the records allow us to judge, it appears to have been intended originally to form twenty-five companies (as was the practice in Spanish regiments), each company with a strength of 200 men, making a full total of 5,000; and although, as will be seen, difficulties were raised soon after recruiting had begun, this number of companies seems ultimately to have been established. The following commissions, besides Henry O'Neill's already referred to, were issued during the next few months.

On 18 December 1605, Edward Fitzgerald was appointed major (*sargento-major*).[96] As we have seen, he had been captain of one of the unattached companies, and it is stated in his new commission that he had already served in the Low Countries for 17 years, eight as an ordinary soldier, six as captain of Irish infantry, and three as a pensioner at the Court of Brussels; he had also distinguished himself at the sieges of Cambrai, Rheinberg, and Ostend, and had been wounded at the taking of the Castle of Manlin; and again recently on 2 July when he had also

been made prisoner.[97] It was no doubt hoped that his valour and experience would counterbalance the complete lack of any military knowledge or training on the part of his colonel. On 21 Feb. 1606, John Maxi was commissioned as adjutant to the major,[98] and on June 17 Solomon Geraldin became quarter-master.[99] The drum-major (atambor mayor) was Nicholas Erlequens, commissioned on 9 Feb. 1606,[100] and Robert de Asiliers, whose name denotes that he was not an Irishman, was appointed auditor to the regiment on 22 June 1606[101]—this post being always reserved, it would seem, for a native of the country. Apart from any other evidence, the long intervals between these more important appointments indicate that the regiment was slow in forming.

When we come to the commissions for captains, we find that the first was issued about 14 December 1605 to Thomas Preston (afterwards to become so prominent in Ireland) who had already brought over his full complement of men at his own expense.[102] Six more commissions were issued on 15 December to Jenquin Visumuns (Fitzsimons), Henrique Hagan, Milero Maconel, Thomas Barri, Jorge de la Hid (Delahoyde) and Thomas de San Lorenço (St. Lawrence);[103] and within the next few months fifteen more were issued, to John Torquel (Tirrel) on 22 December 1605, to Arturo Oneill on 30 January 1606,[104] a cousin of Colonel Henry—he, as stated in his commission, had got together already seventy of his men and " desires his commission in order to be able to get the remainder ";[105] to Maurice Geraldin and William Darsy, whose companies were already in being before 28 February;[106] to Jorge Barneval, who after his death was succeeded on 30 March by Jacques Garlant;[107] to Walter Daleyt (Delahoyde), whose company was in being before 29 April;[108] to Hugo Mosten, whose company was in being before 23 February and who was succeeded in his command on that date, when he went to Spain, by Don Eugenio Oneill;[109] and sometime before June 1606, to Henry Geraldin, Nellano Omulloaglyn, Juan Conor, William Barret, William Vales (Walsh), Robert Daniel, Thomas Stanihurst, and Cornelio Driscol.

Of the twenty-four companies for which commissions were thus issued, including the companies of the colonel and the major, it was possible for the time being to raise only seventeen. No difficulty whatever about recruiting appears to have arisen in Ireland, where, apart from the willingness of the authorities to co-operate, there were many fighting men who had been thrown idle by the events which followed upon Kinsale, and were ready to take service wherever opportunity offered, as an alternative to starvation. The *Annals of the Four Masters* may again be referred to here for a brief but poignant description of the country after this national disaster, and particularly after news had reached Ireland of the death of Hugh Aodh Ruadh O'Donnell and of the failure of his mission to secure further Spanish help : " Pitiable indeed was the state of the Gaels

of Ireland after the death of O'Donnell; for their characteristics and dispositions were changed . . . They despaired of relief, so that most of them were obliged to seek aid and refuge from enemies and strangers, while others were scattered and dispersed, not only throughout Ireland, but throughout foreign countries, as poor, indigent, helpless paupers; and others were offering themselves as soldiers to foreigners; so that countless numbers of the freeborn nobles of Ireland were slain in distant foreign countries, and were buried in strange places and unhereditary churches, in consequence of the death of this one man who departed from them."[110] There is no doubt that many of those who thus went into exile, the " free-born nobles " included, ultimately found their way to the Low Countries and into the regiment of Henry O'Neill. In the year 1605 alone thirty-one of these are mentioned who had fled first to Spain and, after having there received a pension from the King (to be paid at Brussels or Antwerp), proceeded to Flanders and were attached to one or other of the Irish companies;[111] and when these nobles were themselves once settled in their new surroundings, they would have found but little difficulty in persuading their followers at home to come after them, either directly by way of the sea or overland through England. The flow of recruits would have been secure as far as Ireland was concerned, as indeed it continued to be during the whole of the seventeenth century.

As we would expect, in the official documents the difficulties against recruiting the remaining proposed Irish companies are said to have come from England.[112] Perhaps we should find the real cause if we looked rather to Holland, where any tolerance shown by England to the procuring of reinforcements for the Spanish enemy would certainly have been noted and resented. In any case, on 2 June 1606 an order was issued to eight of the captains mentioned above that they were not to proceed with recruiting for their companies. They themselves were given a special grant by way of compensation and were instructed to take up service with the other companies of the Irish regiment as occasion should offer.[113]

These other new companies had scarcely been formed when some of them, and probably all, were in action. Even as early as 28 February 1606 awards had been made, for their services, to men of the companies of Colonel Henry O'Neill, Captain Maurice Geraldin, Captain William Darsy, Captain Thomas Preston, and Captain Eugenio O'Neill.[114] In this same year 1606 the renowned General Ambrose Spinola had begun a brilliant campaign of which the two outstanding successes were the siege and capture of the fortresses of Grol in August and of Rheinberg in October.[115] Irishmen took part in both these operations, and during the month that the siege of Rheinberg lasted, ninety-eight of them, belonging to eight different companies, received special rewards for their gallant services.[116] Captain George Delahoyde lost his life as early as March 1606,

in some action which is not specified, and was succeeded in his command by Captain James Garlant;[117] and somewhere about the same time Captain William Darcy was killed in action, and was succeeded on 18 October 1607 by Captain Thomas St. Laurence.[118]

In May 1607 the Spanish authorities opened up negotiations with the Northern States for a truce, which it was hoped would lead to a final peace settlement. It will be unnecessary to recall that towards the end of this same year the Earls arrived in the Low Countries after their flight from Rathmullan, and it is of some interest for our immediate subject that partly from the men of their retinue a company of pikemen was formed and added to the regiment of Henry O'Neill, under the command of Captain John Bath, who had been captain of the vessel which had brought the exiles to France.[119] It may also be mentioned, although it does not concern us here immediately, that the English took advantage of the negotiations between Spain and the States to secure O'Neill's withdrawal from the Low Countries, for they made this a condition of giving any assistance to the Spaniards, though they appear to have forgotten their promises when they had secured their purpose.[120] The negotiations themselves dragged on during almost two years, but on 9 April 1609 a twelve-year truce was signed, by which the Northern States were recognised as independent. Spain was enabled to begin immediately to reduce her armies, and two months after (June 10) five of the Irish companies were disbanded because of the low number of their effectives—the companies of James Garlant, Thomas St. Laurence, Walter Delahoyde, John Bath, and Don Eugenio O'Neill.[121] England began again to watch events with interest; for, now that fighting had stopped on the Continent, it was feared lest Hugh O'Neill—who meanwhile had been kept out of Spain also and had gone to Rome—might use the Irish swordsmen for an attempt to recover his possessions. A report reached London that the King of Spain intended to disband the Irish regiment altogether, but this was considered to have been circulated merely as a ruse to cover ulterior purposes, and the English Minister at Brussels was instructed to do everything in his power to hinder the disbandment, while making sure to pretend the contrary.[122] There were, however, no substantial grounds for alarm. It was quite true that some time earlier, according to report, some of the Irish in the service of the Archduke had said " that they only awaited the return of the Earl their father to go back to their country and cause trouble there, and that when peace should be made his Highness would free all his troops, so that they might nurture sedition there "; but an assurance was given to England that this was merely the talk of some individual soldier badly informed.[123] On 13 August 1609, Colonel Henry O'Neill was granted licence to proceed to Spain, " on personal business and on business of his father,"[124] accompanied by Don Eugenio O'Neill.[125] He died there the following year, [126] and before October 1611

the command of his regiment had been given to his much younger half-brother John O'Neill.[127]

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[52] Besides Jaques Franceschi, who appears to have been lieutenant-colonel to Stanley, mention is made of captains Robert Bostock, Edward Stanley, Edward Villess, another Captain Stanley, and Captain Paton. Perhaps Captains Juan de la Marsella and Martin Meinart were Italian and German respectively. On 22 May 1591 mention is made of William Ward, campaign-captain of the regiment, but whether or not he was an Irishman is not stated. Archives générales du Royaume, Brussels, *Secrétairerie d'Etat et de Guerre, registres des patentes, titres, ordres, et dêpeches*, registre xv, f. 220v, and registre xiii, f. 168v. These *registres* form the principle source of information for the history of the Irish regiments in the Low Countries in the 17th century.

[53] Ibid. registre xv, ff. 154, 144, 220v ; registre xii, f. 231.

[54] *Cal.S.P.Ire.*, 1591–2, p. 456, no. 14.

[55] *Registres des patentes etc.*, registre xiii, f. 121. In a grant to fourteen of Stanley's men on 20 July 1589, the percentage of Irish names is much higher : Conmac Ros Oconos, Geraldo Fisgeralde, Giraldo Nugent, Rulin Obirne, Gerod Mas Hul, Juan Lockwod, Juan Laynden, Bartolome Gardiner, Edmundo Wesley, Hugo Rely, Denis Geraldino, Jacomo Owgan, Denis Conor, Guillermo Cadell. Registre xii, f. 137v.

[56] Ibid. registre xv, f. 65v.

[57] Ibid. registre xl, f. 81.

[58] Ibid. registre xv, f. 168.

[59] Ibid. f. 220v.

[60] Ibid. registre xl, f. 45v. William, David, Walter, John and Richard de Burgo.

[61] *Cal.S.P.Ire.*, 1586–8, p. 89, The Privy Council to the Vice-President of Munster, 21 Dec. 1588. According to Thuanus (Jacques Auguste de Thou) *Historia sui temporis* (Frankfurt, 1614–21) lib. 89, p. 536, Stanley was actually at Nieuport with seven hundred men waiting to embark for England in July 1588. In this same year when he had been invited to give his opinion at a council at Madrid, he had strenuously advocated the invasion of Ireland. Strada, *De Bello Belgico, decas secunda* (Rome, 1648) *liber nonus*, p. 533. Stanley had suggested the capture of Waterford and its utilisation as a base either for an invasion of England or for the conquest of Ireland : " *Captoque Vaterfordio munitoque, posse aut vicinam abjectamque Angliam tuto invadi . . . aut si in Hiberniam progredi libeat, insulam armis obtineri posse.*"

[62] *Cal.S.P.Ire.*, 1588–9, p. 274, Letter of Lord Deputy FitzWilliam to Walsyngham, 4 Dec. 1589. See letter of the same to the same, 14 Dec. 1589, ibid, p. 279. " If Stanley come he will take Waterford " ; and the declaration of Captain Gwyn of Stanley's pretence to come to Ireland with 12,000 men, their landing to be at Galway, Waterford and Dublin. Ibid. p. 285, 28 Dec. 1589.

[63] *Cal. Salisbury MSS*, part iv, p. 145, M. Moody to the Earl of Essex, 24 Oct. 1591.

[64] Ibid.

[65] *Cal.S.P.Ire.*, 1592–6, p. 334, a memorial from Ireland to the King of Spain, unsigned, but it is evidently one of the letters referred to in an intercepted letter of O'Neill and O'Donnell to the King of Spain, 27 Sept. 1595 : " By the timidity or negligence of the messenger our former letters have not reached you. We therefore again beseech you to send us 2,000 or 3,000 soldiers, with money and arms, before the feast of St. Philip and St. James." Cal. Carew MSS., 1589–1600, p. 122. This latter letter was intercepted, " from the hands of Piers O'Cullen," two days after it was written.

[66] *Registres des patentes etc.*, registre xvi, f. 104. The Archduke Albert had become Governor of the Low Countries on 29 Jan. 1596.

[67] *Cal. Salisbury MSS.*, part v. p. 132. For an account of the mutiny, see G. Bentivoglio, *Della guerra di Fiandra*, part iii. Libro i. pp. 26–28 (Venice edition, 1645), and Léon Van der Essen, *Les Italiens en Flandre au xvie et au xviie siécle* (Brussels, 1926).

[68] *Registres des patentes etc.*, registre xvi, f. 113.

[69] This obviously must have been the case for those who had refused to serve under Stanley, and in the case of Edward Fitzgerald's company, which will be mentioned immediately, it is expressly so stated, in registre xx, f. 10, in a licence for Ireland issued to Ensign Dorbi Densi.

[70] Ibid. registre xvi, f. 153v.

[71] Ibid. registre xx. f. 259. Barneval's commission is not dated, but in the *registre* it follows upon Fitzgerald's licence for Ireland which was granted on 30 June.

[72] Ibid. registre xxii, f. 3v, under date Jan. 17;

[73] Ibid. f. 62v, and f. 120v.

[74] Ibid. registre xxii, f. 120v.

[75] Bentivoglio, *Della guerra di Flandra*, part iii, libro iii, pp. 63ss. But when the writer speaks of one thousand Irishmen he probably had in mind the combined Irish, Scots, and English under Stanley's command.

[76] *Registres des patentes etc.*, registre xviii, f. 95v. under date 27 May 1598.

[77] Ibid f. 116v. In his account of the operations at Amiens, Bentivoglio makes special mention of "the Irish Captain Thomas" (il capitan Tomaso Hibernese) no doubt meaning Thomas Barry. Bentivoglio, l.c., part iii. libro iv, p. 89 and p. 97. For the capture of Amiens and the part played by the Irish troops, see Matthew O'Connor, Military History of the Irish nation, pp. 39ss.

[78] Bentivoglio, part iii, libro v, p. 115. In 1598 Stanley's Irishmen had their quarters at Sichem, and a quaint reference to their religious devotion is found in Robert Chambers, *A historie of the miracles wrought by the intercession of our blessed Ladie at a place called Montague in the duchie of Brabant*, a very rare booklet which appears to have been written at the beginning of the 17th century: "The Curate and echevins of Sichen(*sic*) affirme assuredly that in the yere 1598 at what time the Irish of the regiment of Sir William Stanley coronel were lodged there, many of them were wont to use no other phisik or remedy for their diseases but to make their prayers at the aforesaid place of Montague, amongst whome very many were healed, in such sorte that Father Walter Talbot an Irish priest, one of the societie of Jesus (who at that time was their preacher and ghostlie father) was . . . moved to go thither sometymes devoutly in procession accompanied with the said Irish and the townsmen of Sichen" pp. 55–56.

[79] Bentivoglio, l.c. pp. 123 and 125.

[80] Ibid. lib. vi, p. 149, and cfr *Cal. Salisbury MSS.*, part x, pp. 196–7, where Bostock is said to have been Stanley's lieutenant.

[81] *Registres des patentes etc.*, registre xxi, f. 242.

[82] Ibid. f. 374. The platform mentioned had been especially built in the year 1602 by the Spanish Camp-Master Rivas near the fort of St. Albert to facilitate the bombardment of the old quarter of Ostend. Bentivoglio, l.c. part iii, libro vii, p. 162.

[83] Registre xxi, ff. 5, 9v., 11, 21, 43, 123, and 142, on dates between 19 July 1602 and 2 March 1603.

[84] Registre xx, f. 254v.

[85] *Cal.S.P.Ire.*, 1601–3, pp. 460–61, July 1602, *Memorandum on help from the Low Countries for the Spanish forces preparing for Ireland.* "The following things were done, or men sent, in the enterprise of sending into Spain from the Low Countries to go for Ireland. The "Conte of Teron" sent the following as names of those most fit for that action, and they are consented by the King of Spain's ambassador, the Archduke, and his Council. First, Jaques Francisco, the Italian lieutenant-colonel that was to Sir William Stanley and a very excellent "enjeneur man" which goeth for the chiefest. Next, Captain Oliver Yeustas (Eustace) elected to have a regiment. Captain Edward "Fyesgarot" (Fitzgerald) also to have a regiment. Lieutenant Bremyegam (Birmingham). Captains Harry Wyelch and Thomas Roche. Lieutenant Bremyegam (Bermingham). Ensigns Thomas Stanys, Thomas Macrafte (Mcgrath), John Smyght (Smith ?), Garlande, Garate Byern, and Daniell, Mr. Thomas Barry and Mr. John Dunn. All these and divers to the number of 38 were enrolled and went through Paris in severall companies about four weeks ago to go for Spain and there to be employed for Ireland. Ten or twelve places have been mentioned for that landing, but they will probably only land at two. Captain Isambere, one of the chiefest gentlemen of the Duke's artillery, and who commanded the eight pieces on the dyke on Albert side; and his son who is esteemed as great a man as his father or greater. These are Frenchmen; the father married at St. Thomyere (St. Omer ?). Other engineers came, and the King has requested the Archduke to assist them with all things that these gentlemen and engineers shall think necessary for their service, and that he should send the King a list and the King would pay all."

[86] Archives générales du Royaume, Brussels, *Papiers d'Etat et de l'Audience*, registre 365, ff. 13v, *Mémoires du Baron de Hoboken*, 30 April 1605. "Nous avons esté tout l'après-disner en communication sur la levée à fer pour leurs Altesses de 2000 Anglais, 1500 Ecossais, et 500 Irlandais"; quoted by L. Willaert S.J., *L'Angleterre et les Pays-Bas Catholiques*, in *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, vii, p. 594. No actual contract for recruiting during this early period has so far come to light, but for the later period several are preserved.

[87] See above, note 11.

[88] See note 6 above.

[89] *Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1600–1, p. 305, 1 May 1601, the Lord Deputy Mountjoy to the Privy Council.

[90] *Registres des patentes etc.*, registre xxii, f. 299 v.

[91] *Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1600–1, p. 122, 26 April 1600, Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. "The names of the pledges mentioned in the letter are these, viz., Henry O'Neill, Tyrone's second son, McDonnell Gorme his son, Henry Oveton's (Hovenden's) son, McDonnell's son. These four pledges are from Tyrone. O'Donnell sent two others, viz., O'Doughty's son and O'Gallachowse's (O'Gallagher's) Son. Maguire sent his brother. These seven pledges were put aboard the Spanish ships the 19 of this present, and departed from Lough Foyle the day following.

On April 22, the Earl of Tyrone reports the same to the Earl of Desmond: "We wrote in your behalf to the King (of Spain), and of your service and help. We sent our son Henry unto him, and, God willing, the help at hand will shortly appear unto you." Ibid. pp. 123–4. The two ships which conveyed the hostages sailed from Killybegs. Ibid. p. 127, Sir Francis Stafford to Sir Robert Cecil.

[92] *Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1600–1601, p. . Friar Matheu de Caria to Hugh Earl of Tyrone, Corunna, 5 Jan. 1601.

[93] Ibid. p. . Richard Golborne to the Lord Chancellor Loftus, Bloye, 21 June 1601. "Also, your Lordship shall wete, he said Tyrone's son is gone into a monastery of Grey Friars, and hath taken habit. Wherefore the King is highly displeased, and saith he will have him thence to go into Ireland with the fleet. But the friars say he is vowed to God, and as yet refuse to deliver him." Golding is here repeating a conversation held at Bordeaux on 16 June with a Scottish friar, Fr. Browne, come from the Court of Spain.

[94] *Registres des patentes etc.*, registre xxii, f. 399v ; 220 crowns monthly.

[95] Ibid. f. 407v ; pay of 10 crowns monthly.

[96] Ibid. f. 418.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Ibid. registre xxiii, f. 149v. ; pay of 25 crowns monthly.

[99] Ibid. f. 329v.

[100] Ibid. f. 120v.

[101] Ibid. f. 340v.

[102] Registre xxii, f. 412. Preston had been in the Low Countries since at least 9 May 1605, when he had received a monthly grant of 12 crowns. Registre xxii, f. 157.

[103] Registre xxii, f. 413.

[104] Ibid. f. 427.

[105] Registre xxiii, f. 95.

[106] Ibid. f. 162v. This is the earliest mention of Darcy in the *registres*, but he seems to have been commissioned even before October 1, 1605—on which date four score and ten of his men under the command of Lieutenant Tirrel put into Southampton (coming from St. Ives, Cornewall) and there expected to find a bark previously promised them for their conveyance to Flushing. Their petition to the mayor for their "victualing and diettes" in Southampton for three or four days was not granted, but "it was rather ordered by the Howse to ridd them out of the towne and to bestow uppon them in monie fortie shillinges, which was by the consent of the Howse presentlie given them by Mr. Maior, together with a passport for there travell to London." *Hist. MSS. Com. rep.* XI, appendix part iii, *The Manuscripts of the Town of Southampton, Extracts from the Assembly Books*, p. 26.

[107] *Registres des patentes etc.*, registre xxiii, f. 216v. In his commission it is stated that Garlant had already served in the Low Countries for 19 years, 13 as a soldier and 6 as ensign.

[108] Ibid. f. 263v.

[109] Ibid. f. 151v. Hugh Mostyn had been in command of a company associated with Redmond Bourke in Connaught in 1601, and had left Ireland in December of that year, from Castlehaven, "with the Adelantado, O'Donnel, Redmond Bourke . . . and their train." *Cal. Carew MSS.*, 1601–1603, pp. 53, 54, and 500.

[110] *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, ed. J. O'Donovan (Dublin 1848–51) *ad annum* 1602.

[111] Jaques Veedlo, Tadeo Macdonel, Carlos Carti, Valter Hacquet, Juan Quennedi, Ricardo Nugencio, Margamus Macbrien, Redmundo Dalton, Ridmundo Alora, Henri Pulchet, Gelasio Suliban, Estuan Aliag, Finin Carti, Dionisio Carti, Mauricio MacMortagh, Dionisio Calechan, Mauricio Longe, Dermicio Carti, Finni Omahoni, Diego Geraldin, Daniel Omahun, Raymund Yllan, Bernard Cullan, Cornelio O Mahun, Tomas Raymundo, Guillermo de la Rocha, Juan Ciarna, Don Con Oconoi Fali, Bernardino Doniel, Ricardo Mauris. The grants were all made between 28 Jan. 1605 and 14 Dec., and vary from 4 crowns monthly to 50 in the case of O Connor Falvy. In every case the recipient is expressly stated to be Irish. Registre xxii, ff. 3vss.

[112] Registre xxiii, f. 304.

[113] Ibid. The captains concerned were Jenquin Fisummuns, Thomas St. Laurence, Henry Geraldine, Nellanus Omulloaghlyn, John Conor, Thomas Barry, George Delahoyde and Miler Maconel. A monthly grant of 24 crowns was made to Visummuns, of 30 crowns to St. Laurence, and of 25 crowns to the six others.

[114] Registre xxiii, f. 162v.

[115] H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique* (Brussels, 1919), iv. pp. 238–239.

[116] Registre xxiv, f. 121. The companies concerned were those of Henry O'Neill, Maurice Geraldine, Thomas St. Laurence, Eugenio O'Neill, William Barret, Walter Delahoyde, Art O'Neill, and Thomas Preston.

[117] Registre xxiii, f. 216v.

[118] Registre xxiv, f. 68v.

[119] Registre xxiv, f. 78v.

[120] Letter of the Baron of Hoboken, ambassador at London, to the Archduke Albert, Stepney, 10 Jan. 1608, Archives générales du royaume, Brussels, *Papiers d'Etat et de l'Audience*, registre 365, f. 198.

In 1608 the interests of the Irish regiment and the welfare of Colonel Henry O'Neill were recommended to the Archduke Albert by the Holy See, doubtless at the instance of the Earl of Tyrone who had lately arrived in Rome. The internuncio at Brussels was instructed to suggest that Henry should be sent to Liege for safety, as the King of England was anxious to obtain possession of his person. The Archduke, however, gave full assurance that the King's wishes would never be acceded to. Letters of the internuncio at Brussels to the Secretary of State, 23 Aug. and 21 Oct. 1608, in *Archivium Hibernicum* iv, p. 261.

[121] *Registres des patentes etc.*, registre xxiv, f. 384v.

[122] The Earl of Salisbury to Sir Thomas Edmondes, Whitehall, 25 July 1609: "It had also been strange to me to understand that the Baron of Hoboque doth pretend to have some commission from hence to deal with the Marquis Spinola about the breaking of the Irish regiment, though his Majesty might have just cause to observe it as an argument of no great amity. For I do easily believe that by the colour of dismissing that regiment upon this conjuncture, all this intention (of Tyrone's invading Ireland) may be covered and executed, so as I should think, that this may now be done of purpose to licentiate them to pas into Ireland to support the party. And therefore you shall do well in that kind, to hinder any such matter, rather than approve it; for they cannot be better than where they are, though you need not say so, as if you had any such direction; for that were to move him to do it, or by not doing what they intend to, to value it as an obligation." See Thomas Birch, *An historical view of the negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels, from the year* 1592 *to* 1617, p. 305.

[123] Archives générales du royaume, Brussels, *Papiers d'Etat et de l'Audience*, registre 365, f. 243, *Receuil de la conférence tenue par le Baron de Hobocque, ambassadeur des serenissimes Archiducqz avec le Conseil du Roy de la grande Brettaigne à Londres le 7 de Juillet* 1608.

[124] *Registres des patentes etc.*, registre xxiv, f. 388.

[125] Ibid. f. 416v. His licence is dated 28 July 1609.

[126] *Cal. Carew MSS.* 1603–14, p. 350.

[127] *Registres des patentes etc.*, registre xxv, f. 54, where there is mention of Captain Thomas Preston of the regiment of Camp-Master Juan O'Neill. The *registres* do not contain any mention of John O'Neill's commission to the rank of camp-master, which was probably issued immediately after the death of Henry O'Neill in 1610. In *Papiers d'Etat et de l'Audience*, Carton 1939, there is a document dated 9 June 1611 ordering Brien Onachton, just released from prison, to return to his own country. Onachton had been arrested when on his way from Louvain to Brussels, and had stated that he had gone to Louvain to get help from his colonel who lived there. This seems to indicate that John O'Neill was already colonel at that date.

SCIENCE AND REALITY

BY JAMES A. TEEGAN, M.SC., PH.D.

Meaning of Science

THE aim of Physical Science is to understand the external world of reality; and the means which the Physicist employs to attain this end consists, in the first place, of the exact measurements of physical phenomena. Such measurements of themselves give no direct information about external reality and are, in fact, nothing more than representations of man's reactions to natural phenomena. They furnish the researcher with a vision of external reality, which he must interpret in his own way, as the artist interprets his own personal vision upon his canvas or as the musician interprets his own personal emotions in his music.

The first task in this process of interpretation is one of elimination and refinement, in the course of which everything must be discarded which has arisen from the possible constructive tendencies of the observer himself or from the possible effect of the measuring apparatus itself on the objects of observation. Then follows the process of classification in which the data provided by the scientific measurements are correlated in a purely logical and primarily mathematical manner. Out of this classification the researcher constructs a synthesis of concepts and theories so as to organise the data under one law. The method of constructing such concepts is purely abstract, and the researcher relies solely on his own imaginative powers in their formulation. In doing this he has, however, an almost complete measure of freedom, being unhampered by any restriction other than the necessity of preserving logical coherence throughout the theory. The scientific picture which results is, of necessity, entirely subjective; it represents the researcher's own personal vision of the real world as he interprets it in the light of the direct sensory impressions which he receives from his research measurements. It does not represent objective reality; but only that particular aspect of reality which is in accord with the results of scientific research and, as such, is judged solely by its agreement with these results.

In the initial stages of constructing an hypothesis the Scientist almost invariably tries to trace a correspondence between the particular phenomenon under investigation and other phenomena within his experience. Presumably his methods of arriving at suitable analogies is largely one of trial and error, in the course of which many lines of approach may have to be tried before a suitable correspondence presents itself. Once, however, such a correspondence has been established, the task is con-

siderably simplified by the fact that the researcher can now draw upon lines of information already within his experience, which serve as threads around which he can weave his new theory.

It is possible indeed to trace such an association of ideas in most of the great physical theories. Newton, for example, observing the fall of an apple in his orchard connected it with the motion of the heavenly bodies and so was led to the formulation of the gravitational laws. Bohr and Sommerfeld associated the orbital rotation of electrons in the atom with the motion of the planets about the sun and so derived a very useful theory of atomic structure. A similar correspondence of ideas can be traced throughout the various stages of development of the undulatory theory of light; and the mechanical theories of the past century were almost entirely founded on the bases of analogical reasoning.

The construction of an hypothesis being mainly creative and the work of the imagination, it is but natural to expect that its nature is largely determined by the mental outlook of its discoverer. The discoverer in turn will be influenced by the general scientific tendencies of his time. In an age which stresses mechanics the outlook of the Scientist will most likely be that of the Engineer. He will think in terms of mechanism, and his world pictures will in consequence be mechanical. Thus, during the centuries following Newton's gravitational theories, the whole trend of Science was mechanical and all the varied pictures of the physical universe were depicted in mechanical terms. Men thought in terms of mechanics alone; they were unable to conceive of things as being other than mechanical, and so rejected as unreal everything that defied description in such terms. And this outlook, to a large extent, still prevails; Newtonian mechanics, despite the fact that twentieth-century science has brought about the downfall of mechanism, is not without effect on modern thought. Apart from the mathematical Physicists, men are still essentially mechanically minded; and it is due no doubt to this heritage, from the past century, of machines and mechanism that the ordinary man finds the modern mathematical aspect of Science so difficult to comprehend.

So long as we could think of atoms as impenetrable spheres, of light as a wave motion in a mechanical ether, of space as ordinary Euclidean space, and of time as ordinary astronomical time governed by the motion of the earth around the sun, the nature of the physical world presented no great difficulties. Even the non-scientist felt quite at home in such a friendly world of familiar concepts, and readily accepted the concrete pictures presented by physics as representing the objective realities of the outer world. So real were the pictures that their subjective nature was forgotten and such entities of physics as the atoms, the ether, light waves, space, etc. were assumed to have a degree of objective reality which is in fact wholly illusory.

It would be correct to say that at the close of last century the belief was general even among men of Science that the mechanical aspect of the universe as then presented actually represented objective reality, and that it was only a matter of time until the whole mystery of reality would be laid bare by science.

Modern Science no longer cherishes this hope. Following the breakdown of mechanism, Science has become self-conscious in the light of its very definite limitations. The models and machines of the nineteenth century have been abandoned. The Victorian atom, the ether, space and time as separate entities are no more ; they have been resolved in the new Physics into mathematical symbols, and the age of mechanism has been superseded by the age of mathematics. So elusive, moreover, is this new world-picture of the physical universe that it is incomprehensible to all but the trained Mathematician. The wave-theory of matter presents us with a picture of the atom which is almost incredible. The generalised theory of relativity describes the universe as a four dimensional curved continuum, which no mind of man can picture. Radiation, we are told, behaves like waves and like particles, and no Physicist can help us to form the slightest mental conception of a light quantum ; we are told, in fact, that it is absurd to look for such concepts. In short the Physicist no longer aims at explaining the unfamiliar in the terms of the familiar ; he is content to represent the entities of Physics in terms of symbols alone and is not concerned with that which lies beneath the symbolism. Yet all this does not mean that the mathematical picture is any less real than the mechanical picture. It may appear less real, but this is due entirely to the fact that, from habit, we have grown to regard as real only the pictorial or mechanical aspect of things. On analysis, however, it would appear that this preference for pictorial representation is really nothing more than a prejudice ; and when we reflect on the fact that all scientific theory is essentially abstract, there is no reason for rejecting as unreal a world-picture in terms of mathematics—which is after all the purest form of abstraction.

Science now realises that all its world-pictures, whether mathematical or mechanical, are essentially subjective in the sense that they are nothing more than abstract representations of our own sensory reactions to the objective universe—which, though real, is of necessity unknowable. That Science has now adopted the mathematical world-picture and has abandoned the mechanical picture is due solely to the fact that it provides a subjective aspect of the real world which is in closer accord with the observed facts of experience than that provided by the latter.

Any world-picture presented by Science, be it mechanical or mathematical, bears very much the same relation to external reality as a painting does to a landscape or a map to a city. We say the map is a good map the more detail it contains and the more it helps us to orientate ourselves.

Similarly we judge any world-picture of the Physicist by the manner in which it helps us to understand the real world and by the measure of its agreement with our observations of natural phenomena. As with the map, we judge the world-picture solely by its degree of utility. Yet just as there is much in a city that is not in a map, so there is much in the real world that no scientific interpretation can ever include. Modern Science recognises the imperfections of its own world-picture, which it regards as incomplete because it presents aspects of the outer world which are in no sense exhaustive.

It is, indeed, this new self-consciousness of Science and its recognition of the very limited aspect of reality with which it is competent to deal that constitutes the most striking outcome of the modern revolution in scientific thought. Unlike the older view which held that scientific knowledge alone was of value, it is now believed that scientific experience can claim no priority over other forms of experience. Religious, ethical and aesthetic forms of experience are no longer ruled out; they are on the contrary recognised as being just as revelatory of reality as is scientific experience.

All the forms of human experience which Science formerly rejected are now regarded as responses to an external and extra-human reality which must be taken into account along with scientific experience in our search for a closer approach to the whole of reality.

Science itself presents us with an aspect of the real world which is useful rather than revelatory. Its aim is to provide a world-picture which accords as closely as possible with what is best described as the metrical side of outer reality. It helps us to control nature rather than to understand it, and the better it enables us to interpret the working of nature the more adequately is its task fulfilled.

There is a positivist philosophy which holds that experience is the only source of knowledge and that the world-pictures of Physics, developed as they are around concepts which are abstract, are of no ultimate value. On this view the subject matter presented to us through the medium of our senses with the help of measuring apparatus is the sole indisputable reality, and it is held that Science exhaustively discharges its functions by reporting on and classifying this information. Like Kant, Positivists maintain that human knowledge is limited to phenomena; they deny that there is any discoverable reality apart from the sensory impressions themselves, and so any inferences drawn from such impressions or from physical measurements on natural phenomena cannot be regarded as having any degree of scientific validity.

Such a view precludes metaphysical speculation as meaningless and classes the abstract process of scientific theory-building as meaningless. All that the Physicist knows or can know is his own individual reactions to his physical measurements and so, although it may be convenient for

him to attach an ultimate significance to them, any such significance is not representative of any underlying reality. Positivism, in fact, denies the existence of objectivity external to sensory impressions; it holds that nothing remains when the complex of sensory impressions of things is removed. Whatever we perceive, either directly or through the medium of measuring instruments, is all there is to be known and there is nothing outside this. Thus our individual perception of phenomena as recorded in the Sciences is not only the raw material of these Sciences, but it is also the sole material which they can provide.

To a positivist an electric current is merely the reading of an ammeter, a temperature is the reading of a thermometer, and a time-lapse is the motion of the seconds-hand on a clock. If we attribute an ulterior meaning to these measurements or draw any inferences from them, they cannot be regarded as legitimate Science. Against such a view it might be argued, however, that quite different systems of measurement of current or temperature or time are productive of the same results. Unless, therefore, it can be shown that the various systems have been purposely designed so as to correspond and fit each other, then the fact that such agreement does occur must be regarded as indicative of the existence of some underlying physical quantities which are themselves objective and independent of the methods of measurement. Furthermore, we are aware of physical events and physical phenomena apart from any measurements which can be made of them. Physical phenomena are things that have some meaning for each and every one of us; and although our apprehension of them may be confused and to a large extent indefinite, the fact that we are aware of them shows that it is unreasonable to suppose that they had no existence before the Scientist found a way of measuring them.

No doubt a strictly positivistic outlook has the advantage of logical consistency in the fact that it never goes beyond the proven facts of experiment. Yet, in so doing, the limitations it imposes are such as to render the whole of Science and Scientific theory both meaningless and valueless. Thus it excludes of necessity all scientific material other than the actual experience of the individual researcher and so reduces physical science to the mere description of such individual experience, holding that it is only such experience which can be taken as the object of scientific description. It, therefore, precludes the experience of others and so renders impossible the formation of any theory approaching a comprehensive system of Science.

Obviously Science based on such a foundation can be of little value; it is only by an acceptance of the belief that scientific measurement does not create the world around us, but rather that it gives us information of a real world which transcends it, that Science can acquire any real meaning.

Science and Truth

Science is constantly in a state of flux, and within the last thirty years what were regarded as its very foundations have been swept away by the results of the new Physics. Scientific doctrines which for centuries had passed for absolute truth have been discarded, and even at the present time scientific theories are constantly being revised in the form of stop-press editions.

To the layman all this seems very strange. He is amazed at the manner in which men of Science, without a thought of inconsistency, abandon one theory and adopt another—although apparently contrary. To be told at one time that matter is composed of solid impenetrable atoms ; next, that it is a miniature solar system of electrons and protons ; finally, that it can be represented by nothing more substantial than a mathematical formula—all this is no doubt disconcerting to the plain man, and quite naturally he begins to question the validity of Science.

Yet it is his own false attitude towards scientific theory rather than any shortcomings of the theories as such that leads to such scepticism. The layman interprets the theories and laws of Science as though they were immutable and universal truths, whilst to the working Scientist they are in reality nothing more nor less than convenient working hypotheses, which are true only so far as they are useful in explaining the observed phenomena of nature. The test of truth in Science is purely pragmatic, and a scientific theory is true only so far as it agrees with experiment. When, therefore, a scientific theory is acclaimed as true, it is not necessarily implied that it represents truth in any objective sense. It is acclaimed as " true " solely from the standpoint of its degree of usefulness for the purposes of Science. Thus the more facts it describes and the greater its logical coherence, the " truer " it is from the scientific standpoint.

The history of Science shows that at different times many markedly contradictory things have passed for scientific truths. Newtonian mechanics, the ether theories and the various conservation laws were at one time regarded as established scientific truths ; yet all of them have, one by one, been swept aside by the great scientific revolution of the present century. In reality, however, the new theories have revolutionised science by extending rather than by destroying the old, and it would be quite wrong to assume that the older theories of classical physics are invalidated in the light of the new. Each new theory includes all that the older one does, but in addition it usually includes many things that the older one does not. It would be a mistake, for example, to assume that the generalised theory of relativity has disproved the Newtonian concepts or that the Schrödinger atom has disproved the Bohr atom. A four dimensional universe can include a Euclidean universe and at the same time account for certain phenomena for which a three dimensional universe is inadequate. Similarly the Bohr theory of the hydrogen atom

is included in the theoretical description of Schrödinger, but the latter provides a far more complete description of the observed facts of spectroscopy than did the former. The greater degree of applicability of the new theories is their sole justification from the scientific point of view. The Scientist is never concerned with the question as to whether the new theories are more " true " than the old ; they are more useful because they explain more facts, and that is all that matters from the scientific standpoint.

The Scientist, as it were, regards each theory merely as a tool and adheres to it only so long as it is useful. Directly it ceases to be of use he will have no hesitation in scrapping it. In other words no law or theory in Science can be regarded as immutable or universal. To the working Scientist a theory is a mere convenient formula. He is conscious of its limited scope and is always ready to replace it by another, should a better one come along. Furthermore, scientific theory is constructed by the mind and is thus imposed upon the facts rather than being essentially in the facts. It does not, therefore, aim at representing an objective picture of that which it represents ; rather it provides a subjective working model which, if it existed, might be expected to produce such effects as are experimentally observed.

The atomic theory of the chemist is, as we know, completely out of date at the present time, yet for the purpose of chemistry it provides a remarkably valuable system upon which the whole quantitative aspect of chemistry is founded. In the strict sense of the word, we know that it is not true ; but this in no way detracts from its usefulness as the foundation of quantitative chemistry. Similarly, the Bohr atom with its electrons circulating about a positively charged nucleus is a concept still employed as a convenient working model to explain certain atomic phenomena. It is a useful but purely hypothetical model of atomic structure, which is productive of important results and enables the Chemist to classify and interpret his experimental observations in a convenient manner. That such a model has no real existence is quite immaterial ; the theory simply states that, for the purposes of explaining certain atomic behaviour, the atom may be considered as though it actually consisted of electrons revolving around a positively charged nucleus in the manner suggested by Bohr.

At the present time considerable use is still made of the older concepts, and in the literature of Physics one finds constant reference to such entities as particles, atoms and electrons, to ether waves, to forces, etc. Present-day Physics still has some use for the mechanical concepts, and it introduces them whenever possible side by side with, and as counterparts of, the more generalised symbolic concepts of the newer mathematical method.

It is recognised, however, that the actual truth is likely to be quite

different from either the world-picture of the mechanist or that of the mathematician, although the latter is deemed superior in as much as it represents a closer accord with the observed facts of scientific experience.

Limitations of Science

So far we have seen that the only outcome of modern Science upon which it can be said that there is now universal agreement is the recognition of its own insufficiency as a method of acquiring knowledge about reality. Thus, whereas the Scientists of a generation ago, making matter and motion the sole reality, attached concrete and objective significance to the world-picture then presented by Physics, the modern Scientist, conscious of the abstract and subjective nature of physical theory, no longer identifies the objects of Science with reality.

It would perhaps be correct to say that at the present time it is generally admitted that Science can never hope to provide an exhaustive mode of approach to an understanding of the external world. Rather it would appear that the modern Scientist is content to regard scientific knowledge from an entirely utilitarian standpoint in that it can provide a means of understanding and to a certain extent controlling natural phenomena—without, however, giving any real indication as to that which lies beneath these phenomena. Scientific knowledge has accordingly ceased to be regarded as the only knowledge of value, and at least equal significance is now attached to the many other sources of knowledge which comprise the total elements of experience. Of the spiritual things which produce results even in the physical world Science can tell us nothing; yet it now recognises these things as no less real because it cannot explain them and regards them as being just as much a part of reality as the things which are called scientific.

Science, moreover, is limited by the very nature of the methods it employs. It classifies by seeking resemblances and analogies amongst the things which it studies, and in its emphasis on similarities it must perforce ignore the distinction between individual things. Thus aiming, as it does, at unification Science deals with universals rather than individuals; and the more it succeeds in this process of generalisation, the more abstract and imperfect it becomes.

Physical Science itself is most successful when, in a statistical sense, it is dealing with a large number of things. When it comes to grips with small-scale phenomena and is concerned with the study of individual behaviour, its methods are less secure and the results far from satisfactory. The principle of indeterminacy, by admitting the inability of the methods of Physics to account for small-scale phenomena, illustrates this fact.

Yet this scientific method of dealing only with universals is alien to that by which normally we sift and catalogue the content of our own experiences of things and events. Everything that happens and every-

thing we see is characterised by a uniqueness or individuality which marks it out and distinguishes it from the complex of our experience of other happenings and things. Were this not so, there is no way in which we could distinguish between such experiences since it is only by its individuality or uniqueness that each experience impresses itself upon our consciousness. To each of us the world is full of individuality, yet Science by the fact that it regards each thing as a member of a classified group must always ignore this individuality and so always misses that which, from the humanistic standpoint, is the most fundamental feature of our experience. Unless a strictly positivistic attitude is adopted, it would be right to say that the only experience with which Science deals is universal experience and that the only observations which it classifies are those which under the same circumstances would be the same for all observers. In doing this, Science eliminates all that is private and particular; and it is necessary, as we have seen, that the searcher in the early stages of classifying and selecting his experimental results must eliminate all those factors which might be described as being of a personal character.

It has for this reason been stated that Science ignores personality. That it appears to do so seems to follow from the older belief that nature is independent of mind and that the whole scheme of things, following a rigid law of causation, is proceeding towards finality without Mind or Man or God ever producing any difference in anything that ever has happened or ever can happen. Yet modern Science, in stressing mind rather than matter, no longer ignores the spiritual aspect of reality and would thus seem to make room for human personality, although quite naturally it cannot attempt to explain it.

We are in consequence no longer permitted to ignore human values or human aims on the grounds of their non-scientific character; rather it would seem that they must be regarded as objective factors of our individual personal experiences, which are just as much a part of reality as are the things with which Science itself can deal. Many values, however, could not be realised without Science, and it is in dealing with the means to human aims and ends that Science realises its most important function. Yet the ends themselves are ultimately of more importance than the means by which they are attained, and of these ends Science can really tell us nothing at all.

Religion, Art, Ethics, and the many aspects of human nature with which no Science can deal are all related to reality in a more fundamental way than the things that are classified as scientific. Philosophy in searching for the truth about reality must take account of them; it must also take account of the findings of Science, but there is no longer any justification for assuming that the latter alone provides the sole reliable basis upon which a comprehensive system of philosophy can be founded.

JAMES A. TEEGAN

THE CATHOLIC FRONT IN FRANCE

BY STEPHEN J. BROWN, S.J.

Part II*

VI

IF the chief effort of the Church in France at the present time is directed to the evangelisation of the working-class,[1] the professional classes and the educated classes generally are not being neglected. Some form of organisation exists, no doubt, for each and all of the professions. I shall mention here only the Laennec clubs for doctors and U.S.I.C. for engineers. U.S.I.C. (" Union Sociale d'Ingénieurs Catholiques ") is very widespread and well organised. It is neither a sodality, though it has religious activities, nor a glorified club, though it has fine headquarters, with library and assembly rooms, in the Rue de Varenne. Its object is to give serious thought and study from a Catholic standpoint to the problems that confront the profession—social security, Marxism and the mentality of the working class, the labour movement, factory committees, etc., etc. It counts, I understand, some 45,000 members, including not only engineers but " chefs d'entreprises ". Its organ is *Echo de l'Usic*.

Organisations of a different kind for the middle classes—the J.U.C. and the J.I.C.—have been mentioned already in this article, and I note with interest that in England, while the J.O.C. has been widely adopted under the title Young Christian Workers,[2] considerable progress has of late been made with a parallel organisation for the professional classes known as L.O.C.K.

VII

We pass next to social teaching and action in so far as they concern the struggle that is being waged by Christianity in France. The primary purpose of the Church is to aid and to guide the faithful in the way of salvation by the teaching and practice of the Christian religion. But she is fully aware that Christian teaching applies to every phase of human life and that the practice of religion is not confined to specifically religious activities—divine worship, liturgy, private devotion. Religion must not be pent up, as the secularists would have it, within sacristies, churches, and convents. Christians must be Christians all the time—in business, in professions, in politics, in social relations.

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* For Part I see last (March) issue.

[1] In his remarkable Lenten Pastoral Letter of 1947 the Archbishop of Paris says that in future the efforts of Catholic Action will hinge more and more on the " déproletariatisation " of the masses and their reconcilement with the Church (*Essor ou Déclin de l'Eglise*, p. 53).

[2] There are sections of this organisation in Wexford and in Belfast.

To these last a vast amount of thought and study has been devoted both by individual French thinkers and writers and by organisations. Of these latter two at least claim special mention—the *Action Populaire* and the *Semaines Sociales de France*. They are not new, the former having been founded by the French Jesuits at Reims in 1903, the latter being in its forty-first year.

The present address of the A.P. is 15 rue de Paris, Vanves, a suburb of Paris. It must be explained that it is not a political movement like the royalist Action Française. It is not even the headquarters of any form of Catholic Action. It is a group of priests and laymen who have become specialists and experts in social questions and in every kind of Catholic activity. They study, write, lecture, and provide information on a wide range of topics. They never cease to send forth a stream of books, pamphlets, tracts, *dossiers*, periodicals, articles, posters—all of them aiming to bring home to the masses in town and country the social and moral teaching of the Church and to give helpful information and counsel to all workers and fighters on the Catholic front. The A.P. is backed by a very prolific publishing firm, the Editions Spes (79 rue de Gentilly, Paris).

The organisation of the *Semaines Sociales* works on different lines. Though it carries on through its review *Chronique Sociale de France* and the annual printed volume of its proceedings (a work somewhat similar to that of the A.P.), its main effort lies in bringing together once a year a team of the best equipped minds among the Catholics of France for the purpose of expounding and discussing before a large and representative audience a single definite subject. The *Semaine Sociale* held in Paris in July 1947 attracted 6,000 people, including the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, the Apostolic Nuncio, twenty bishops, University professors, and many members of the French cabinet and the National Assembly—by no means a hole and corner affair. M. Henri Vergnolle, Socialist mayor of Paris, said, in welcoming the delegates: "I salute in you disciples of the great Pope Leo XIII, whose encyclical *Rerum novarum* still reverberates throughout the world, and disciples of Pope Pius XI everywhere unanimously respected. You work for the reconstruction of a Europe unified as in the times when it was Christendom. From the Christianity in whose name you labour we [Socialists] are less removed than you think." The subject chosen was Social Catholicism in face of the great contemporary social trends. The sessions of the *Semaine* were held under a vast awning in the gardens of the Institut Catholique, but one of them was actually held in the great auditorium of the Sorbonne. It is as though the Catholic Truth Society were to hold a session in the Memorial Hall of Trinity College! The thirty-four ample volumes of the proceedings of the Semaines Sociales form a veritable library of Catholic sociology.

VIII

But, one may object, all this is merely literature and talk. In a sense it is; yet is it for all that none the less useful and inspiring; for ill-considered and ill-directed action may be worse than no action at all. Nevertheless it must be confessed that literature and talk are sterile unless they lead to action, well-thought-out and rightly guided action. And even such fine organisations as the A.P. and the Semaines Sociales would write and talk in vain unless there were other organisations efficiently geared for action. Fortunately most of the organisations already spoken of and others to be mentioned presently come under this heading, all the *œuvres* in which French Catholicism is so prolific. And this is the place to mention an organisation which attempts to co-ordinate these many *œuvres*. It bears the title *Union des Oeuvres Catholiques de France* (31 rue de Fleurus, Paris VI[e]). Like the Semaines Sociales it holds from time to time congresses in which a special problem is studied, such as The Parish (1946) or Evangelisation (1947), but from a definitely practical point of view.

Then there is that type of social action which may be more appropriately described as Christian charities. In this sphere *private* charity is supreme, but organisation is not ruled out. The St. Vincent de Paul Society manages to blend the two. By organisation it collects resources, but distributes them in private and almost by stealth. France was the cradle of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, but it is familiar to everybody in this country and needs no further comment. Quite new, on the contrary, and little known here is *Secours Catholique* (Catholic Aid), a sort of G.H.Q. of charities which was formed by the fusion of three other *œuvres*. It is a great organisation of priests and laymen for the purpose of dispensing help to every form of distress and to every class of distressed person—in its own terms " quelles que soient les opinions religieuses ou philosophiques des destinataires". The extent of its charitable activities may be gauged by the fact that in a few months it distributed " plus de 100 millions de secours". In March 1947 and the following months, it organised a great campaign for the sick of whom, as one of the consequences of the war, there were a vast number. To provide funds for this charitable organisation collections are taken up periodically in the churches throughout France.

As the work of Christian apostolate and evangelisation is essentially a supernatural work depending ultimately for its efficacy on the grace of God, such social activities as I have enumerated would be of little avail were they not accompanied by an intensification of the interior life. All the spiritual forces making for such intensification are certainly present in France—the Religious Orders, in the first place, contemplative as well as active, the Apostleship of Prayer, the Sodalities, the Third Orders, devotions, pilgrimages. To take the last-named alone, France is the land

of Paray-le-Monial, Lourdes, Lisieux, Ars, Rue du Bac, Sainte Anne d'Auray in Brittany (last year's pilgrimage brought together 80,000 pilgrims). France is the cradle of numberless religious orders, and new religious congregations continue to spring up. The most recent, perhaps, is that of the Frères Missionnaires de la Campagne, a little company of Friars devoted exclusively to work in the countrysides of France. They go forth wearing their religious habit, with shaven crowns and rosaries at their girdle, to bring back the Faith into the dechristianised villages and hamlets.

Then there is the liturgical movement. How widely and above all how deeply it has affected French church life I am not in a position to say. No doubt the work of Solesmes, of Dom Guéranger and Dom Cabrol, and of so many more has not been in vain. There is a *Centre de Pastorale Liturgique* which held its second congress last year. It brought together nearly two thousand priests and twenty bishops. The laity also was well represented. The subject dealt with was " The Lord's Day". It was the occasion for examination of consciences and for beating of breasts. " We ourselves," said Mgr. Chevrot, " have laicized Sunday " ; and Canon Cardijn, founder of the Jocists, pleaded for a " Christian reconquest of Sunday". The great German liturgicist Romano Guardini addressed the Congress.

IX

The enclosed retreat movement is well developed, though much has yet to be done. I spent an afternoon at one retreat house, the Villa Manrèse at Clamart, and saw in progress at the Ecole Sainte Geneviève in Versailles a retreat for secular clergy—Priests of the Sacred Heart. The Legion of Mary in Paris tried the novel experiment of a retreat for tramps ! Of the forty who stuck it out twenty-five went to confession and communion—no mean result. But when all was over, anything that was movable or transportable in the house had disappeared.

As I have named the Legion, I may now mention Ireland's modest contribution to the rechristianisation of France. Within the last twenty years or so a small number of Irish students have joined the diocesan clergy of France. At present twenty Irish priests are working in seven different dioceses, and there are three Irish students in the Grand Seminaire of Agen. Two brothers from Portaferry the Abbés Flynn became, the one Curé of the Madeleine in Paris, the other Bishop of Nevers.[1]

But perhaps our chief contribution has been the Legion of Mary. When in Paris I called on Mlle. Bienaimée in her rather humble headquarters (two small rooms) 41 Rue Boileau XVI. While we were talking

[1] A much greater number of Dutch priests are helping the French clergy in various parts of France.

about the progress of the Legion, bundles of *Notre Dame de la Légion* (the French equivalent of *Maria Legionis*) arrived from the printer. At the date of my visit the Legion had been established in forty-nine dioceses. In Paris there were thirty-five " praesidia". As in Dublin, the Legion began its work in France with the poorest or most neglected strata of the population—tramps, prisoners, the sick poor, the destitute. It has a *bibliothèque roulante* or book-barrow as in Dublin. The Legion has met with disapproval and opposition in certain quarters, but it seems to be making good progress.

X

French Catholicism must present a front not only towards its adversaries within the country but also to the world at large. That is to say it has an international aspect. I think it may be said that French Catholics play their full part in all international organisations and activities—UNO, UNESCO, International Labour Office, international politics (one has only to mention the names of Bidault, Schumann, de Gaulle, and the late national hero Leclerc, a devout Catholic), the International Red Cross, and so on. The French Catholic Boy Scouts are affiliated to the World Scout Organisation. In addition French Catholics play an important part in specifically Catholic international activities such as Jocism. They count for a great deal in the greatest international of all—the Catholic Church. But there are also minor internationals—the *Amitiés Catholiques Françaises* whose purpose it is to foster friendship for France in foreign countries, the *Union Catholique des Etudes Internationales* with its centre at Fribourg in Switzerland, *Pax Romana*, and others not a few. Recently M. Jacques Hérissay, President of the *Syndicat des Ecrivains Français* has been entrusted with the formation of an international federation of Catholic writers, to which an Irish group hopes soon to be affiliated.

In the preceding pages I have enumerated a certain number of special *éléments de combat*—fighting units, shall we say?—which are ranged along the Catholic front in France. Besides these, however, the Church in France possesses certain general advantages and assets. As a recent observer has remarked, " all the essentials of a fully Catholic life are there in abundance". Moreover behind the body of practising Catholics there is, in the words of the same writer, " a vast hinterland of sympathy and atavistic loyalty". The prestige of the Church stands high to-day. Not only Catholics in general but in particular the clergy and religious rendered signal services to France during the war as combatants, Chaplains, nurses, stretcher bearers. And they played their part, too, in the Resistance, side by side with Socialists and Communists. Consequently the old anticlericalism is at a discount. During my three weeks stay in Paris I do not remember to have noticed a single hostile glance.

A certain amount of ground, too, was recovered between the two

world wars. Many will recollect the wonderful story of the *Chantiers du Cardinal*, the hundred churches which Cardinal Verdier built in the *bande rouge* around Paris ; and they may have read those moving books (originally broadcast) by Père Lhande, S.J.—*Le Christ dans la Banlieue, Dieu dans les Fortifs, l'Evangile par-dessus les toits*, and so on. Also some of the organisations above enumerated took firm root during those years.

In the intellectual sphere Catholic scholars and writers stand very high. They are numerous in the French Academies and on the staffs of the " grandes écoles". And I hope it will not seem invidious to venture the opinion that French Catholic literature is, all things considered, incomparably the finest in the Catholic world. Among the members of the French Academy we notice the following well-known Catholics : Mgr. Grente, Bishop of Le Mans, the poet Paul Claudel, the novelists Henry Bordeaux and François Mauriac, the historians Robert d'Harcourt and the Duke de la Force, Emile Mâle the historian of art, the philosophers Etienne Gilson and Edouard Le Roy, the *savants* Louis et Maurice de Broglie, General Weygand and Admiral Lacaze. Recent phases of Catholic intellectual life have been described by Wallace Fowlie in his book *Jacob's Night : The Religious Renascence in France*.[1]

XI

All this is true—and yet . . . . Well, there are first the cruel statistics of *La France Pays de Mission* ? The realization of their significance and of certain too obvious facts, such as the large communist vote, has induced among the foremost combatants on the French Catholic Front, to say the least of it, a chastened mood. The consciences of Catholics have been subjected to rigorous self examination, and heart-searching is the order of the day. The Church itself in France—its organisation, its method, its worship, its clergy—has not escaped a criticism which at times has been carried to excess, without allowance being made for human nature on the one hand and on the other for what has been and is being accomplished. One thing, however, seems certain : the results achieved are hardly commensurate with the efforts and sacrifices, often heroic, which have been expended so lavishly on the reconquest of the masses for Christianity.

The difficulty of the apostolate among the dechristianised masses is one of contact, the right kind of contact—or rather, perhaps, of penetration. It is always possible to snatch, as it were, a brand here and there from the burning, but the conflagration continues to blaze unquenched ; or, let us say, chips can be broken from the iceberg, but the great mass of ice remains almost untouched. The efforts of the Church succeed

[1] Sheed & Ward, 1947. See also in the forthcoming new edition of the present writer's *Survey of Catholic Literature* (Milwaukee : Bruce Co.) the chapter entitled " The Revival in France " (ch. XI., pp. 165 *sqq*.).

in drawing a certain number of souls out of their milieu, their *ambiance*, into the strange, uncongenial atmosphere of fervent parochial life; but it exerts little or no influence on the *ambiance* itself, which continues as before to corrupt and to dechristianize. Christianity, said our Lord, is like leaven, and it is felt that in some way it must be brought into the lives of the masses so that gradually, insensibly, it may "leaven the whole lump". Meantime the idea is gaining ground of groups and communities outside the framework of regular parochial life, a kind of intermediate stage in re-Christianization. Cardinal Suhard in his 1947 pastoral favoured the idea.

In general, new methods are being tried—Mission de France, Mission de Paris, priests in dungarees, more extensive use of the vernacular in the liturgy, the closer association of the laity with the work of the Church; and all these are good. But no new methods can dispense with the old methods of evangelization—prayer, holiness of life, the preaching of the word of God, the offering of the Christian Sacrifice, and the administration of the sacraments.

For many a year to come the path of the Church in France must be an arduous and even a thorny path. There is the immense material task of rebuilding the 5,640 churches[1] and the 8,000 religious houses devastated during the War. There is the heavy burden of the upkeep of the Catholic schools and the ever-present threat to their very existence. There is the active enmity of Freemasonry on the one hand and of international communism on the other. But however great the obstacles, however bitter the hostilities that beset her path, we shall see new glories of the Church of France, new *gesta Dei per Francos*.[2]

STEPHEN J. BROWN

[1] In the two wars over 12,000 churches were destroyed.

[2] Two recent books that give a balanced and objective view of France to-day are *The Land of France*, by Ralph Dutton and Lord Holden. (London: Batsford, 2nd edition 1946) and *France Alive*, by Claire Huchet Bishop. (New York: Declan X. McMullen. 1948).

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MAC KENNA, S.J.

LXXXVI

Poet Praises His Patron

To James Butler 9th Earl of Ormond, son of Pierce (+1539) 8th Earl and Mairghréad, daughter of Gearóid Mac Gearailt, 8th Earl of Kildare. He married Joan, daughter of James Fitzgerald, 11th Earl of Desmond. He was poisoned by the English in London, 1546. Cf. Lodge iv p. 22. The Sadhbh in st. 22 was his grandmother; she was daughter of Domhnall Mac Murchadha Caomhánach and married Sir James Butler, by whom she had the Pierce mentioned above.

UAITHNE MAC UILLIAM Í CHOBHTHAIGH cc

1. Mó ná iarla ainm Séamuis
gidh ainm iarla a ainm dualais;
sluagh Gall ar fheadh do fhéaghais,
meadh Shéamais ann ní fhuarais.

2. Iarla as churtha na chomhar
ní fhuighthear d'fhiadhnaibh brughadh;
dá thír do fhuaigh gan aineamh,
uaim Laighean re mín Mumhan.

3. Críoch Gaoidheal d'uaim a uga,
a chaoilshleagh uaidh nar fhada;
ní nós do fhóbair d'oba,
tós troda ó ógaibh aga.

4. Móide clú iarla an Inbhir
crú na n-iarladh a hAlmhain;
níor chlaon a barr do bhiodhbhaidh
craobh d'fhiodhbhaidh Ghall ór ghabhlaigh.

5. Don leith do-ríghne rogha,
leath an mhílidh gur mheala;
gan chur ccroinn ar chró Logha
roinn Logha dhó fa deara.

6. Laighnigh ag triall san tealaigh
fan triath le n-airgthir Ulaidh;
agraidh tall ar fhéin n-Oiligh
soighin chlann Néill a-nuraidh.

7. Clann Éireamhóin an aonaigh
(go léirthionól nGall) géabhaidh ;
gan chur n-áigh rú nír réidhigh
crú Éibhir dob áil d'fhéaghain.

8. Do bhaoi an t-ainm ar a aire
dá ghnaoi go gairm na sgoile ;
don iarmar níor fhéag file
séad fine iarladh oile.

9. Fear séad do dháil tar dhligheadh,
dá ghreus gan dáimh do dhearadh,
ón chléir gan ghruaidh do ghoradh
léim gan bhlodhadh mbruaigh bearar.

10. Cuidébhaidh a mbeirn bhaoghail
Builtéraigh le a fheidhm d'fhéaghain ;
le a fhéin a ttreas suil tiaghair
diamhair a chleas féin féaghair.

11. Ré gan urdhubhadh n-einigh
d'Urmhumhain as hé as eighir ;
ré lán as mheadh don Mhumhain
bean dan cubhaidh dál deighfhir.

12. A iath do-chuaidh fa chánaigh
an triath dar dhual a dhíoghail ;
tearc dhíobh do-chóidh ar ccúlaibh
tóir dhúnaidh ríogh fa ríoghain.

13. Gar don fhiadh oighre Piarais
sgiath dá choimhdhe ar a chlébhois ;
agh san leirg dob fhear eolais
seolais bean do sheilg Shéamuis.

14. Ag sin ribh rádh gach cléire :—
" gan a ndáil nír dhligh Guaire "
ionann sin is díol dáimhe
dáile díon gil na gruaidhe.

15. Docar leathach clú ad chumaidh,
crú Gearailt tar an nGallfhuil ;
gnáth gach cnú fan chnaoi mhullaigh
tú at urraidh re gnaoi ag Gallaibh.

16. Dod thréithibh ceard an churadh
an féinnidh rer bheadhg Balar ;
ní fríth libh a ccléith comhar
ar bhlodhadh sgéith t'fhir fhaladh.

17. Sgél folaigh ar feadh ndeabhtha
nach foghair let fhear n-iomtha
ad láimh gur leagh an dornchla
t'fhear comtha áigh ní fhionnfa.

18. Do chuir líon gráidh ar ghabhlaibh
nar dháigh acht a dhíol inbhir ;
a gruaidh ghairthe a ttigh theaghlaigh
dearbhaidh sin t'aithne d'inghin.

19. Gan teagmháil ribh im reannaibh
ag sin eadráin an iomaidh ;
tú a lár na ngliadh re Gallaibh
fian bhrannaimh san ágh iomaibh.

20. Airm san bheirn dhaoibh ghá ndathadh
ar t'fheidhm do bhaoi na bhreitheamh
d'fhior fhuar nír theo san tochar
do dhochar gleo uadh d'fheitheamh

21. Do-chuaidh an éinbhean d'fhearaibh
go bhfuair féinnidh rer fhuirigh ;
fada a-tá ar ceilt ad chomhair
do sheirc fholaigh mhná Muidhigh.

22. Níor anais, a ua Sadhbha,
led shluagh gur bhlaghais bearna ;
guais le fear mas fleadh diomdha
fleadh fan hiomdha fear feadhma.

23. Do-clos d'fhuighlibh ót araidh
do chuimhnigh ar chol ndeighfhir
bean gan shuan a-réir romhuibh
dual cobhair ghéill a ngeimhil.

24. T'fhaicsin re mbearna mbaoghail
a meanma an faidsin fóiridh
sibh mar budh eadh gan t'fhéachain
féachaidh bean fhir at óiridh.

25. Cloch fhaghlaidh bídh fad bhárdaibh,
an tír na hadhbhaidh uaignigh,
gaoth chean do-chóidh fat ógbhaidh
tógbhaidh teagh óil dá uaidnibh.

26. Reagar a leas ann t'fhuaradh
do lann a ttreas dá téaghadh ;
lor do thuar ar ghort nGaoidheal
laoidheadh druadh ort at éanar.

27. An cú fa tóir don Tánaigh
a clú do-chóidh a ccianaibh ;
do long do-chuaidh sna céimibh
fonn Éibhir uaibh ar iarraidh.

28. Tug ar mhnáibh maoith ar madain
a sgaoith ó thráigh do thogaibh
gaoth chuain don reodh do fhreagair
fuair na leabaidh ceol codail.

29. Fuair d'Éirinn rogha ríghe
ar ttogha Éireann óighe ;
dul ón bhrugh go bun Súire
ag cur tnúidhe ar bhrugh mBóinne.

30. A chomhdháil tarla im Thailltin
fa orlár mBanbha biodhgfaidh,
tig én tar thuinn san teanntaigh
nar fhégh d'ealltaibh fhuinn Fhionntain.

31. Beart don taobh oile imridh
laogh na hoighe dá healbhaidh,
nír thil Corc acht clár Luimnigh
dál Muimhnigh thort go Teamhraigh.

32. Fiodh réidh re n-iorghail uime,
a bhiodhbhaidh ag béin moille ;
biaidh an t-áth fa fhéin Chaille
léim aille ag cách na ccoinne.

33. Ceo ó dheabhaidh gha ngréine
do-gheabhtha brat badh buaine,
treisi le teas na síne
deisi shídhe im eas n-uaine.

34. Sgáile a feadh nó go bhfalaigh
an tsreabh as áille n-oirir
ar gcur chúil re fiadh bhfuinidh
cuiridh grian ar Shúir soighin.

35. Braon annamh tre ghaoibh gréine
do chlannaigh re craoibh bhfeoighe ;
do-ní dar leagh don luaighe
tí uaine ar feadh na Feoire.

36. Na himlibh an tráth téarna
ar inghin dob fháth liamhna
feadh faighthe le fuaim ndíorma
gruaidh ríoghna ag aithne an iarla.

37. Sí do chách as cliath dídin
a sgiath an tráth do thógaibh ;
neimh an chuaigh ar an ccéiddigh
léigidh sleigh uaidh re n-ógaibh,

38. Ar tteacht chléire as-teagh triallaidh
re a fhéile mar fhear laoidhigh ;
cuiridh sgor seang a srianaibh
crodh d'iarraidh nar fhearr d'aoidhigh.

39. Do-rinne ag roinn a cheana
a choinne re cloinn Mhogha
gan bhrath ní bhia ar an tara
cia a ragha cath nó comha?
Mo

Translation

1. Though Earl be his due title, Séamus is a greater name than Earl ; thou hast examined all Goill and hast not found the equal of Séamus.

2. According to the witness of the *brughaidhs* no earl can be found to be compared with him ; he united two perfect lands, Laighin and the plain of Mumha.

3. To bind together the Gaoidhil's land was his ambition, and so his sharp sword was never far from his hand ; he ever sought fame and led his warriors in fight.

4. The fame of the Earl of the Estuary is the greater for his having in his veins the blood of the Earls of Almha (i.e. Kildare) ; this hero from the wood of the Goill whence he came never bent head to foe.

5. This warrior chose a Half (of Éire), long may he enjoy it ! his refusal to lay down his spear on Lugh's Steading (i.e. Mumha) caused that share of Éire to be his.

6. The Laighin are stirring on the Hill (of Teamhair) led by the lord who plunders Ulaidh ; he avenges on Oileach's troop the attack (on Mumha) by Í Néill in the past.

7. The stock of Éireamhón of the Fair will join this full muster of Goill, but Éibhear's stock whom they (i.e. the Goill) wished to visit made no peace with them but fought them.

8. He had regard for the name (i.e. Séamus), and 'twas thus in love the poets called him ; for the rest (i.e. "Earl") they cared not, it being owned by all earls.

9. This man who lavishes treasures immoderately has the good quality of never neglecting poets ; he leaps clear from the poets without getting his cheek scorched by them.

10. In every danger-gap he will serve the Butlers by letting them see his prowess, and, before going with his troop into battle, he lets them know the secret of his tactics.

11. He, undimmed moon of hospitality, is heir to Urmhumha ; (he is) a full moon fit for Mumha, that lady who deserves a goodly husband.

12. His land is under cess to this lord who has a duty to avenge its wrongs ; of this prince's garrison when commanded by his wife (he being away fighting) no man ever quailed.

13. Pierce's son, his shield held firmly in his left hand, presses on his quarry ; the deer (being hunted) on the hillside is a guide to where Séamus is to be found, and leads to him any lady who seeks him.

14. All poets say this of thee : "A Guaire was bound (by his nature) to entertain poets" ; thou assurest them that the brightness of that (i.e. thy) cheek will be preserved (from shame) ; that means maintaining them.

15. 'Twere hard to share glory in thy presence, the blood of Gearalt (in thee) being nobler than all (other) Gall-blood ; all fruits are lower than the topmost one, and so thou in glory art supreme among the Goill.

16. One of thy qualities is the skill of the hero, the warrior, before whem Balar shrank back ; an equal of thee for smashing foe's shield was never found in fight.

17. The secret battle-plan unsuspected by thy foe during the fight—that foe of thine will not come to know it until the sword-hilt has been melted (by the heat) in thy hand.

18. He fixed on stakes a love-net, so that only a pool large enough for it would suit ; in each house a maiden's flushed cheek shows that thou art recognised by her.

19. The way to keep off thy anger is to avoid thee wherever spears are clashing, thou being in the centre of the fight against Goill and a whole set of chessmen about thee.

20. When swords were being reddened by thee in danger-gap an unprejudiced man stood appraising thy valour, and his watching of thy stress did not get excited as the fight proceeded (i.e. he was so sure of thy winning).

21. The great lady (i.e. Joan) visited many men until she found the warrior with whom she finally abode ; long has this lady of Muidheach (?) been hidden with thee owing to thy secret love (of her).

22. O grandson of Sadhbh, thou used not to wait for thy troop to break through the gap ; when a warrior looks on a (battle-)rage as a banquet, he does not like such a banquet to be shared with many warriors.

23. When he remembers some (previous) amour of his hero (i.e. of thee), thy squire has been heard saying : "a lady (i.e. thy wife) was sleepless last night for love of thee ; a captive (i.e. thy wife) in chains (of love) should be comforted (i.e. by thy fidelity)." (?)

24. The wife of the man lying captive in thy golden chains finds her soul comforted (with hope) while, though not really watching thee (being far away), she would be as though watching thee (i.e. in imagination) fighting at some danger-gap.

25. Thy foe's fort is held by thy garrison, and the land (around it) is as an empty dwelling-place ; the news of victory reaches thy young warriors and they then raise (with shouts of revelry) the banquet-hall from its pillars.

26. When thy lance has grown hot in the fray thou hast need to cool thyself down ; the druids' chanting inflaming thee, their single hero, is enough to fertilise (with foes' corpses) the battle-field of the Gaoidhil.

27. The Hound that fought for the Tain has been glorified afar ; the ship (that brought thee) when thou wert seeking Éibhear's Land has gone over the world (in story).

28. He casts a gloom over the ladies (of his house) any morning he pushes his skiff out from the shore ; in bed (at night) he listens to a lullaby, the sea-breeze which follows a frost (?)

29. He chose to go to holy Éire and got his choice of kingdoms in it ; his going from the Brugh of the Bóinn to the mouth of the Súir made the Brugh jealous.

30. His mustering is around Taillte and he will dash all over Banbha ; from overseas in the (land's day of) stress he (Séamus) comes, a bird which has no regard for the birds in Fionntan's Land.

31. A calf of the doe of her (i.e. Éire's) herd then made a move from the far side (of Éire) ; Corc the Munsterman had been ruling only the plain of Luimneach but now his court had come to Teamhair.

32. A wood around him enabled his foes to attack him on all sides, they thus delaying his march ; a ford will then be held by the troop of Caille and the foes like a cascade pour down on it.

33. Thou shalt enjoy a most lasting shade, namely a mist (sheltering thee) against the attack of sunbeams ; thou shalt have energy to endure hot weather and the comfort of an elf-hill beside a green waterfall.

34. The sun, turning its back on the lands of the West, advances on the Súir, a stream flowing through loveliest land, and banishes the shadow of its woods (by shining straight down on them).

35. Sunshowers falling at long intervals come down on withered branches, and the lead (roofs of castles) which he has melted along the Feoir have given place to a stretch of green land.

36. When the Earl came into her territory, the blush on the princess' cheek as she gazed on him marching over the grass with the loud tramp of his troop made folk speak of him as fit spouse for her.

37. When he takes up his shield it is a weapon of protection to all men ; the fierce strength of the (wine in the) goblet acts at the first draught, and so he discharges his javelin before any of his soldiers.

38. When poets come in to him he makes busy, his hospitality urging him ; (at times) he gets his steeds bridled and then 'twere bad for any stranger to seek to take his wealth from him !

39. He made a tryst with the race of Mogha, when settling whom he was to favour ; "he awaits an answer" cries out his herald. "Which choice does he get (from you), battle or peace-making ?"

TEXTUAL NOTES

MS : 23 D 14, 79 except for the following : *2a.* cu. *b.* fui. *c.* dfu. *d.* mhu *3a.* ghaoi *4d.* -laidh *6c.* thall *7b.* gan léirthinóil ghall *c.* riu *8c.* féach *11a.* -bhaidh *c.* meadh *13c.* bfhearr *14a.* ghil na gru. *15a.* Do chur *c.* cen *16a.* thighibh *b.* -igh *d.* mblodh. *18a.* ngr. *b.* dh. acht dá *20b.* bhí *21b.* -igh *22b.* -dhais *c.* -eagh ; dhio. *d.* -eagh *23a.* -iph *c.* suan *24a.* bhao. *25a.* bí *d.* uaithn. *26d.* -uagh *27c.* -iph *d.* éimh. *29b.* óige *31b.* -aigh *35d.* títh *37a. Leg.* sé ? ; dhí. *d.* ro.

SOME IRISH SCHOLARS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

BY REV. JOHN BRADY

IT is one of the ironies of history that the love of learning in Ireland was never more in evidence than during the period when education was most difficult to obtain. Lacking a University at home, many Irishmen crossed the sea to Oxford and Cambridge ; but even there admission was difficult to obtain except to those of Anglo-Irish birth, and when the reformation came they were obliged to depart for reasons of conscience to seek peace and security in foreign and friendly lands. From the accession of Elizabeth in 1558 down to the French revolution the continent of Europe was the spiritual and cultural cradle of countless Irishmen ; and Ireland was much closer to the continent during that period than the most up-to-date means of transport can bring her to-day.

Across the pages of history flit the shadowy names of many wandering scholars, and they remain hidden from view in the rolls of university graduates, in confidential reports and in the catalogues of rare books, awaiting someone to chronicle their wandering and their writings. Their fortunes were summed up by Fr. Henry Fitzsimon, S.J., in 1611, when he wrote : " From about the yeare 1555, as is well known, these late heresies by force, never by voluntarie allowance, oppressed religion in our countrie, banished teachers, extinguished learning, exiled to foreign countries all instruction, and enforced our youth, either at home to be ignorant or abroad in poverty rather to gleane eares of learning, than with leasure to reap any great abundance thereof. Yet such as travelled to foreign countries, notwithstanding all difficulties—whom their friends in their absence, as is the notorious unkindness in our nation, abandoned—they often attained singular perfection and reputation of learning in sundrie sciences, to principal titles of universities, to high prelacies, of whom some are yet living, some departed in peace."[1]

In 1565 Primate Creagh confessed that he had met some Irish scholars at Louvain,[2] and in 1579 Protonotary Dandini wrote to the Cardinal of Como from Paris, enclosing the names of nineteen Irish scholars " who are here for the purpose of study and are in want of means to sustain themselves".[3] About a year later a list, probably compiled by Primate Creagh, was submitted to the Holy See.[4] It contained the names of " good and suitable workers " who might be sent to Ireland. Thirty-seven of the scholars were to be found at different centres of learning on the continent : in Paris, Rouen, Douai, Rheims, Oporto, Evora, Alcala, Rome, Bologna and Louvain. Three years earlier, Richard Stanihurst had put on record in his *Description of Ireland* the names of a number of distinguished Irish scholars, several of whom are mentioned in the foregoing list. From a group of four " very eminent in letters " the names of David Delahide and Leonard Fitzsimon are worthy of examination. They are

not mentioned in any biographical dictionary, and their forgotten lives exemplify the " singular perfection and reputation of learning in sundrie sciences " to which so many Irish exiles attained.

David Delahide

F. Elrington Ball, an authority on Anglo-Irish families, states that the Delahide family was long seated at Moyglare, Co. Meath and from there branched to Loughshinny, Co. Dublin.[5] Richard and Christopher Delahide, members of the Moyglare family, filled high legal offices under Henry VIII. Towards the end of the 16th or the opening of the 17th century a branch settled in Co. Kildare, and Dr. Comerford is probably incorrect when he states that David Delahide was a native of the barony of Carbury.[6]

Delahide, like many another Anglo-Irishman, went to Oxford, where he was elected a fellow of Merton College in 1549. He took his Master's degree in 1553, and on 9 November 1558 he supplicated for his B.C.L.[7] Eight days later Queen Mary died, an event which was to change Delahide's future life. The Universities were soon to experience the religious policy of Elizabeth when the royal commissioners arrived to make a visitation. At Oxford they ejected the heads of Merton, St. John's, Trinity, Corpus Christi, Lincoln and Balliol colleges and demanded confirmation by the University of their visitation. But, says Sander, who was then in Oxford, " the Proctor Edward Bromborow frankly said that he could not allow schismatical proceedings to be confirmed. In this concurred Simson, Daux, Smith and Delahide, an Irishman, and so all five were put in prison"[8] by virtue of letters of the bishop of London dated 3 December 1560.[9] A report of the Commissioners made in 1561, published by Strype, mentions " David de la Hyde, an Irishman, late scholar of Oxford ; at his liberty, saving that he is restrained to come within twenty miles of either University. Very stubborn, and worthy to be looked unto."[10]

Wood states that while at Oxford Delahide was " admired and much adored for his most excellent faculty in disputing, which he exercised as well in the public schools as at home".[11] His contemporary Richard Stanihurst quaintly describes him " an exquisite and profound clerke . . . verie well seene in the Latine and Greeke toongs, expert in the mathematicals, a proper antiquarie, and an exact diuine". And, he continues : " I gather that his pen hath not beene lazie, but is dalie breeding of such learned bookes as shall be auailable to posteritie. I haue seene a proper oration of his praise of Master Heiwood being Christmasse lord in Merton College intitled *De ligno & foeno*, also *Schemata rhetorica in tabulam contracta*." Wood, who was under the impression that Delahide had returned to Ireland in 1560, adds that " he hath written many other things, which being done or printed beyond the seas we see them but seldom, or never, in these parts." None of his writings appear to have survived.

There is no evidence that Delahide returned to Ireland and it is more likely that he crossed to the continent. He had seen Rainolds, the former

head of Merton, die in prison and Richard Smith, another fellow of Merton and one of those who had opposed the royal commissioners, leave the country and go to Douai, where he became Chancellor of the newly founded University. Whether Delahide accompanied him is not known; and he disappears from view for twenty years until we find him at Rouen. In the list submitted to the Holy See in 1580 a number of prominent and promising ecclesiastics, to whom the government of vacant sees could be entrusted, are mentioned by name. Amongst four *in literis valde eminentes* is " David Delaidus 40 annorum circiter, doctus theologus Rhotomagi."[12] He was still at Rouen in 1582[13] and he probably died there about six years later. The Dublin Assembly Roll of 17 January 1589 contains the last known reference to this cultured exile, who did not forget the land of his birth. It declares: " Where(as) one Mr Dallahyde did bequeathe and wyll unto this cittie a certayn quantyty of bokes, at the city of Rone in ffrance and to thend the same may be brought hither, yt is agreed by the aucthorytie of this assembly that a warrant of atorrny shall be made to Nicholas Weston and Richard Handcoke to receive and bring home the said bokes and what charge they shall bestow upon the bringing of the same boke(s) the city to bere the same."[14] Nothing further is known of the bequest.

Leonard Fitzsimon

Leonard Fitzsimon was born in the diocese and county of Dublin in 1541. The Anglo-Irish family of Fitzsimon was one of some note in Dublin at this period. Five different persons of that name filled the office of mayor of Dublin and two the post of sheriff during the sixteenth century, and in 1584 Leonard Fitzsimon was described as " figliuolo del primo cavaglier di quella citta".[15] This " primo cavaglier " may have been Thomas Fitzsimon, who was an Alderman of Dublin at this time.[16] It is also likely that he was related to Father Henry Fitzsimon, S.J.

Fitzsimon was admitted a scholar of Trinity College, Oxford from that of Corpus Christi, 17 June 1558. In the following year he graduated B.A., and in the summer of 1563 he received his Master's degree.[17] Meanwhile radical changes had been taking place in the University. William Chedsey, the President of Corpus and Thomas Slythurst, the President of Trinity, had both been ejected from office by the royal commissioners and thrown into prison, where Slythurst died in 1560. Fitzsimon cannot have been unaware of their fate or of the stand taken by his countryman Delahide; and he must have witnessed the daily departure of scholars who preferred exile to interference with their religion.

Being still a layman, Fitzsimon was probably able to remain at Oxford for some years longer without compromising his faith; but eventually the day came when he had to make a decision. Following the publication of the bull *Regnans in excelsis* in 1570, there was an intensification of the drive against Catholicism in the Universities and throughout the country.

Already scholars like Gregory Martin and Edmund Campion had found the situation intolerable and had left Oxford for ever. Wood tells us, on the authority of some early source, that Fitzsimon, " being a Roman Catholic in his heart and therefore unwilling to take orders according to the church of England, left his fellowship and retired to Hart-hall about 1571. At length going into his own country, had some employment conferr'd upon him and was in his latter years, as I conceive, a Romish priest . . . and there is no doubt but that he hath written and published several books, which being printed beyond the seas, we seldom see in these parts . . . When he died, or where his reliques were lodg'd, I cannot tell ".[18] It is obvious that Wood knew nothing of Fitzsimon's career after leaving Oxford, and the conjecture that he returned to Ireland had probably no foundation. On the other hand, Stanihurst, who may have been a relative, probably could have added more when, in 1577, he called him " a deepe and pithie clerke, well seene in the Greeke and Latin toong . . . perfect in the mathematicals, and a painful student in diuinitie".

If Fitzsimon returned to Ireland his stay was a short one, and in 1575 he was at Douai, where on 20 October he entered on the first stage of his new academic career at the University founded by Philip II.[19] His companion on this occasion was George Blackwell, a former Oxford graduate, who as Archpriest was later to inflict grievous wounds on the Church in England. A year later, (16 October) he was admitted to the recently founded English College in the same town.[20] Here he was to meet many whose names and reputations must have been familiar, such as Dr.—later Cardinal—William Allen, the founder of the College, John Martiall, Owen Lewis and Thomas Stapleton—all Oxford graduates and the last two now professors at Douai University. A marginal note in the first Douai Diary against the name of John White, one of the co-founders of the College, states that he was afterwards a Doctor of Sacred Theology and died in Ireland.[21] The identity of this man is obscure, and one would like to think that he was an Irishman and to be able to identify him with the John White, an Irish priest, who sent greetings to Edmund Campion in August 1578.[22]

During Fitzsimon's sojourn at Douai several Irishmen passed through the College, some of them known now only by their names. The College Diary on 8 June 1577 records the arrival of Mr. Alan, an Irishman and a student of medicine.[23] On 20 July following Mr. Sedgrave, an Irishman, arrived from England and departed for Rome seventeen days later.[24] On 29 August of the same year a Mr. Eustace arrived from Louvain and set out for England on 16 September with Fr. Richard Simpson, who was to die a martyr a few years later.[25] It is possible that he may be identified with the Nicholas Eustace described by Stanihurst " a student of diuinity, one that notwithstanding he was born to a fair liuing, yet did wholly sequester himself from the world". In 1580 Fr. Nicholas Eustace

was officiating at Rathangan as chaplain to the Countess of Kildare and was reported to Walsingham as swearing men at Mass to join the Baltinglass rebels—" or at least not to be against them".[26] In 1584 he was recommended for the vacant see of Meath.[27]

From time to time letters and exiles brought news to the community at Douai of the growing tide of persecution in England. Then one day in December 1577 came the tidings of the barbarous death of Cuthbert Mayne on the hill of Launceston. The College had now its first martyr. He had returned to England six months before Fitzsimon's arrival at the College and they may not have met. Fitzsimon, however, was associated with several future *beati*. With Thomas Cottam, who was to die at Tyburn in 1582, he received the subdiaconate on 19 September[28] and the diaconate on 19 December 1577.[29] Robert Sutton, another future martyr, was ordained priest with him at Cambrai 23 February 1578.[30] Ralph Sherwin, who was executed with Edmund Campion in 1581, Luke Kirby and Laurence Johnson, executed in 1582 and William Andelby, executed at York in 1597, were among his acquaintances.

An entry in the College Diary states that on 12 March 1578, the feast of St. Gregory, Mr. Thomas Bluet and Mr. Leonard Fitzsimon said their first Masses and that Fr. Fitzsimon sang the Mass in honour of St. Gregory. All the English were present and for the most part received Communion.[31] A little later, the unsettled state of the country obliged the college authorities to move from Douai to Rheims, and in consequence of this Fitzsimon probably severed his connexion with the community and went to Paris. In the previous year he had graduated B.D. at Douai University.[32] On 12 May 1579 Cardinal Allen wrote from Paris : " Here (sic) is no Irishman in these parts that I know saving Mr. Fitzsimons . . ."[33] A year later, he is grouped with Fr. Delahide in the Vatican document already mentioned : " Leonardus Fitsimon Duaci profitetur Theologiam, versatis in multis disciplinis."[34] In 1582 William Nugent, brother to the baron of Delvin, and Barnaby Geoghegan arrived in Paris, following the abortive rising in the Pale, and on 24th October of that year Fr. Fitzsimon set out for Rome with Nugent to seek aid from the Pope.[35] From Rheims on 13 November following Cardinal Allen wrote to the Rector of the English College, Rome : " Est quidam Hibernus, Leonardus Fitzsimons, presbyter et meus olim contubernalis, vir plane bonus, doctus et gravis, qui vel in via est vel iam appluit apud vos. Si ipsum vel mea causa tractetis humanius, pergratum erit."[36] He was still in Rome in July 1584.[37] On 4 June of that year Nugent and Geoghegan, then back in Paris, addressed a letter to the Cardinal of Como suggesting the appointment of Fr. Fitzsimon to the vacant see of Dublin.[38] He appears to have held a canonry in St. Patrick's Dublin at an earlier period. The date of his appointment is not available ; but he was deprived by the Protestant Archbishop for non-residence on 12 December 1569.[39]

The last known reference to Fr. Fitzsimon is contained in a letter of 28 March 1588 from the Nuncio in Paris, who wrote : " Will your Excellency be pleased to recommend to Cardinal Monalto the affairs of Ireland, where they have need of support, and in particular to favour Doctor Leonard Fitzsimon, theologian, a man worthy of every respect for his virtues and other good qualities, and who can give him full and true information in regard to what will be for the honour of God and the good of that country."[40]

Stanihurst states that " he [Fitzsimon] hath a brother that was trained up in learning in Cambridge, now beneficed in Trim". No person of that name appears among the alumni or graduates of Cambridge. Possibly he may be identified with the Michael Fitzsimons whom the Lords Justices in October 1583 had reported to Walsingham as " an arrogant Papist, impossible to be reformed, and a continual practicer against the State".[41] Apparently he had gone to France without licence in connexion with the Baltinglass rising. Amongst the charges brought against Sir William Fitzwilliam was one that, during his term as Deputy, he had appointed " a private sessions where Michael Fitz Simmons was, in one day, indicted, arraigned, condemned, and judged, and the next day executed that his farm might be bestowed on the Bishop of Meath".[42] Rawlinson MS.B.479 gives the additional information that " on Saturday next after Ascension day (15 May 1591) Michael Fz Symons, son of Tho Fz Simons Alderman of Dublin, a Master of Arts & a good divine was executed at Dublin & his qrs set on the gate of the city being indicted for matters touching the Rebellion of Baltinglass, &c. He had kept scoole in the Hermitage of Slane."

JOHN BRADY

NOTES

1. *Words of comfort to persecuted catholics . . .* ed. Hogan, p. 68. 2. *Original letters on the church in Ireland*, ed. Shirley, p. 167. 3. Bellesheim, *Katholischen Kirche in Irland*, ii. pp. 718–9. 4. *Archivium Hibernicum*, v. pp. 161–2. 5. *The judges in Ireland . . .*, i. p. 193. 6. *Collections relating to the dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin*, ii. p. 74. 7. Boase, *Registrum Universitatis Oxon.* i. p. 74. 8. C.S.P. *Rome*, 1558–71, pp. 66–7. 9. Brodrick, *Memorials of Merton College*, p. 50. 10. *Annals of the reformation.* i. pt. i. p. 412. 11. *Athenae Oxon.* i. p. 456. 12. *Arch. Hib.* v. p. 161. 13. C.S.P. *Domestic*, 1580–1625. *Addenda.* p. 79. 14. *Calendar of ancient records of Dublin.* ii. pp. 221–2. ed. Gilbert. 15. Renehan, *Collections . . .*, i. pp. 458–9. 16. Fiants Eliz. 4189. Lease to Thomas FitzSimondes of Dublin, alderman, 31 July 1583. He may have been the Thomas FitzSymon who was mayor of Dublin, 1560–61. 17. Boase, op. cit. i. p. 240. 18. op. cit. p. 457. 19. *The first and second diaries of the English college Douai . . .* edited by the Fathers of the London Oratory, with a historical introduction by T. Knox . . . p. 274. 20. Ibid. p. 112. 21. Ibid. p. 3. 22. Ibid. p. 318. 23. Ibid. p. 122. 24. pp. 125, 127. 25. Ibid. p. 129. 26. C.S.P.I. 1574–85. p. 287. 27. Renehan, op. cit. p. 459. 28. *The first and second diaries . . .* pp. 129-30. 29. Ibid. p. 130. 30 Ibid. p. 135. 31. Ibid. p. 136. 32. Ibid. p. 274. 33. *Letters and memorials of Cardinal Allen . . .* ed. Knox. p. 81. 34. *Arch. Hib.* v. p. 161. 35. C.S.P. *Foreign*, 1582. p. 415. 36. *Letters and memorials . . .* pp. 169–70. 37. C.S.P. *Foreign*, 1583–4. p. 623. 38. Renehan, op. cit. p. 459. 39. Lawlor, *The fasti of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.* p. 198. 40. Arch. Vat. Savoia, xxi. 41. *State papers concerning the Irish church*, ed. Brady. p. 70. 42. C.S.P.I. 1592–6. p. 272.

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF IRISHMEN IN FRANCE

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

I.—ADDENDA

JACKSON, WILLIAM, revolutionary agent. Born in Dublin in 1737. Ordained as a clergyman in the Church of England, he adopted journalism after some years and became editor of the *Morning Post*, a radical organ. He resided for a considerable time in France, where he became an enthusiast for the Revolution at its outbreak in 1789. He got employment in Paris under the Republican government, and in August 1793 he was specially exempted from the general arrest of British subjects in France ordered by the French government. In March 1794 he was commissioned by the Committee of Public Safety, through Nicholas Madgett the Irish patriot (*See* MADGETT, NICHOLAS), to proceed to Ireland and furnish a report regarding the desirability of a French invasion. On the way he met in London a former acquaintance named Cokayne, to whom he indiscreetly imparted the object of his trip. Cokayne informed Pitt, who advised him to accompany and spy upon Jackson. The latter interviewed in Dublin various United Irish leaders, and after some time he was arrested. In April 1795 he was brought to trial on a charge of high treason, and on being brought up for judgment he took poison in the dock and died immediately. His funeral to Saint Michan's was attended by an immense concourse of United Irishmen.

While awaiting trial Jackson wrote to Madgett in Paris, telling him that he was about to lose his life in the service of liberty and the French Republic and asking him to procure some assistance for his wife from the French nation. He entrusted the letter to his counsel, Leonard MacNally the informer. MacNally, however, handed the letter over to the Dublin Castle authorities.

KILMAINE, CHARLES EDWARD SAUL JENNINGS, soldier. Born in Dublin on 19 October 1751. Son of Dr. Theobald Jennings, who had married his cousin, a daughter of Laurence Saul, wealthy Catholic distiller. In 1738 Dr. Jennings left Ireland with his wife and settled in Tonnay-Charente in the south of France. In that town young Kilmaine (as he was called after the paternal patrimony of his family in Co. Mayo) was educated. In 1780 he was commissioned a lieutenant in the Hussars of Lauzun, the premier cavalry regiment of the French army, and with it he went through the American War of Independence. Soon after his return to France the Revolution broke out and, unlike the majority of French officers, he favoured the new regime. In the early conflicts at Valmy and Jemappes in 1792 between the armies of monarchic Europe and those of France, Kilmaine won a high reputation and rapid promotion. In May 1793 he was appointed commander-in-chief of the French forces on the eastern frontier. In August the fate of many other brave French generals befell him. The extreme Jacobin faction in Paris assailed him as a foreigner and royalist, and he was not only dismissed from the army but was imprisoned. Released after some months and restored to active service, he defended the Convention against the Prairial insurgents in 1795. In the following year he was appointed commander of a cavalry division under Bonaparte in the Italian campaign. At its end preparations were made by the Directory for an invasion of England and Ireland in which Kilmaine was to play a responsible part. But Bonaparte's departure for Egypt terminated the project. At this time Kilmaine was on terms of intimate friendship with Wolfe Tone. In 1799 he was attacked by a serious illness and died in December of that year at Paris.

Many high tributes were paid to his worth—Napoleon described him as " a soldier of keen discernment and will, qualified to undertake difficult or delicate enterprises for which *esprit* and sound judgment were required".

MARÉCHAL, GEORGES, surgeon. Born at Calais in 1658. His father, an army officer, was one of the many Irishmen who, owing to the penal laws in the reign of Charles the First of England, left Ireland and entered the service of France where the family name of Marshall was gallicised into Maréchal. After losing an arm at the battle of Rocroy in 1643, he retired from the army and became proprietor of an inn at Calais. In that town his son, the illustrious surgeon, was born. At the age of nineteen young Maréchal went to Paris to pursue the study of medicine, and in the French capital he was apprenticed to a master-surgeon. He became a resident pupil of the Charité hospital and, qualifying in 1688, he was later appointed chief surgeon of that institution. He acquired a wide reputation for skill in his profession and in 1703 became first surgeon to Louis XIV. In 1731 he founded the Royal Academy of Surgery at Paris, thereby raising the status of his profession to a high level. High tributes to his skill and personal character have been left by several of his contemporaries. Palaprat, eminent dramatist of the time, called him the " prince of surgeons," and the Duc de Saint-Simon in his *Mémoires* describes him as " the soul of honour, sincerity and honesty". Maréchal died at Paris on 13 December 1736. His grandson the Marquis de Bièvre enjoyed some reputation as a dramatic writer.

II.—SOME UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

In the following pages are some details regarding the manuscript collections in various repositories, of which use has been made in the compilation of the " Biographical Dictionary of Irishmen in France".

ARCHIVES NATIONALES (PARIS). The state documents preserved here are of a miscellaneous nature and relate to every phase of French history during several centuries—political, social, ecclesiastical, economic and educational. The entire contents are classed according to their nature and subject into Series lettered from A to Z, while each Series has several subdivisions which are indicated by additional letters and numbers. A manuscript calendar gives a general idea of the subject matter contained in each Series. Thus Series W comprises several hundred cartons containing reports of the trials before the Revolutionary Tribunals, while Series AF. II. is mainly concerned with the proceedings of the National Convention and the Committee of Public Safety at the same period. Scattered through the documents and letters of many of the Series is a certain number of Irish interest, the discovery of which often requires some labour and patience.

To trace, for example, the varied fortunes of the Irish College at Paris necessitates the examination of many cartons of different Series. The Series M.147. has a collection of documents relating to its foundation. One of them, " Mémoire concernant le Collège des Lombards," tells how a number of Irish priests came to Paris at the beginning of the seventeenth century and were favourably received by Louis XIII, who in 1623 permitted them " de recevoir des donations et aumônes pour vivre". Later in the century (1677) they got possession of the Collège des Lombards, of which they remained " in peaceable possession " till 1707. In that year there came to Paris a number of young Irish students (" écoliers irlandais ") who tried to gain admission into the Lombard College. Through a royal decree they succeeded in their object, and a conflict began between the two classes of students. The Series M.147. has a number of documents drawn up by its priests in 1736 (" Mémoires

pour les prêtres irlandais ") defending their privileges against the " écoliers irlandais". The same Series has a " Mémoire sur l'état actuel d'Irlande," an account of conditions in Ireland written by Wolfe Tone in Philadelphia in December 1795 at the request of Adet the French minister in that city. Series AF. III. 186B. has in Dossier 857 two other accounts of Ireland written by Tone in Paris. The Series F.17 and H.3. have further details regarding the Irish College, as has the Series DXIX, while the Series H.5. gives some information relating to Irish students in the Collége des Grassins at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries.

The Series AF. contains in some of its subdivisions many documents of Irish interest. Thus the cartons 53 to 58 of AF.II. have a large number of the letters of the Revolutionary general James O'Moran. Carton 348 has a further batch of his letters as well as some of his fellow-officer Thomas Keating, of whose career there is an account in dossier 2833. Carton 286 has documents regarding the arrest in the autumn of 1793 of the abbé Kearney, superior of the Irish College ; while carton 288 has a document (August 1793) granting exemption to William Jackson (sentenced to death in Dublin in 1795) from the general arrest of British subjects in France, as he was in the employment of the French government. The succeeding Series, AF.III. has in cartons 57 and 58 some papers relating to Nicholas Madgett, a native of Kinsale, Co. Cork, whose life while an official of the French Foreign Office was devoted to the cause of Irish independence. (He has often been confounded with his relative and namesake who was a secret agent in France of the English government). Carton 57 has also some documents regarding the abbé Thomas MacDermott, who had been chaplain to the French ambassador in London before the Revolution.

In carton 186B. of the same Series is the report of Bernard MacSheehy on the state of Ireland in 1796. In the same carton there is in dossier 857 a description of Ireland in the year 1769 with a proposal of invasion, while details of other projected invasions are in cartons 1597 and 1598 of the Series AF.IV. Dossiers 858 and 859 of the Series AF.III. have reports on Irish conditions by Duckett, a student of the Irish College, an enigmatic figure of the time. Dossier 860 has letters from General Hoche before and after the Bantry Bay expedition. And the Series AF.IV. carton 1672 contains a memoir of Lewins, the United Irish agent in Paris, while dossier 858 (already referred to) of the Series AF.III. has references to the conversations of Arthur O'Connor and Lord Edward FitzGerald with Hoche and Barthelemy in May 1796 at Basle—Barthelemy was French minister in Switzerland and in receipt of Pitt's gold at the time !

The Series F.7. comprises a large number of cartons whose contents deal with police administration in Paris during the Revolution. Documents of Irish interest are found here and there among them. Cartons 4775 to 4778 have details of the arrest and imprisonment in 1793 of the Chevalier Rutledge, that curious Irish figure of the Revolutionary period and of the years preceding it—he was soldier, journalist and demagogue by turns. (The Series Y. in carton 10506 has an account of his family since their settling in France). Carton 2511 has a document relative to the arrest in Paris of three Irish doctors by reason of their British citizenship while carton 2514 contains the decision of the authorities to imprison Irish students in the seminary of their own country. (In connection with this it is interesting to note that, in Series C, carton 271, dossier 666 has a protest from a number of Irish students against their imprisonment, in which they state that they sympathised with the Revolution and that, but for English domination, Ireland would follow the example of France.)

Series W. comprises, as has been stated, several hundred cartons containing reports of the trials before the Revolutionary Tribunal of Paris. Among them are reports of the trials of a number of Irishmen, regarding whom the following tabulated list has been drawn up from various cartons :—

Name	Occupation	Verdict	Date	No. of Carton
St. Ledger, Edmund	Doctor	Acquittal	8 Jan. 1794	W.308 & D.819
O'Moran, James	Army General	Death	6 March „	W.335 & D.585
Dillon, Arthur	„ „	„	12 April „	W.345 & D.676
Roden, Patrick	Army Deserter	„	6 June „	W.380 & D.876
Delaney, Thomas	„ „	„	„ „ „	„ „
Burke, Francis	Sailor	„	5 July „	W.382 & D.886
Ward, Thomas	Army General	„	„ „ „	W.360 & D.766
Malone, John	Army Servant	„	„ „ „	W.429 & D.865
O'Brennan, Pierre	Ex-Curé	„	„ „ „	W.430 & D.966
O'Sullivan, John	Fencing Master	Acquittal	18 Dec. „	F.7. 4422
Madgett, Nicholas	Secret Agent	„	23 May „	W. 548

And finally in Series O, carton 500 has papers dealing with a pension for an Irish priest, the abbé MacMahon, who was chaplain to the Bastille at the time of its destruction in 1789.

Archives de la Guerre. There are two main divisions of the manuscripts of the War Office—viz., the " archives historiques " and the " archives administratives". The " archives historiques " are subdivided into the " ancient " and the " modern," of which the former deal with events &c previous to the year 1791, and the latter after that date. The " archives anciennes " comprise some 4000 volumes dealing with campaigns &c ; a certain number of them contain varied information regarding Ireland and Irish officers in the French service during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Thus for the short period of the Jacobite War in Ireland (December 1688—February 1692) there are seventeen large folio volumes entirely devoted to Irish affairs, each of them containing about one hundred letters and documents. The following is an example of the calendared contents of Vol. 863 : " Vaisseaux mis par Louis XIV au service de Jacques II ; arrivée de celui-ci en Irlande ; son manifeste ; siège de Londonderry ; combat dans la baie de Bantry ; Duquesne en Ecosse ; Guillaume d'Orange et Schonberg en Irlande ; troupes francaises envoyés contre eux ; Bataille de Boyne ; retour de Jacques en France ; rappel des troupes ; siège de Limerick ; relations de France et d'Irlande &c . . ." The remaining sixteen volumes include reports of French officers on the battles of the Boyne and Aughrim and on the siege of Limerick. One of the reports on the battle of the Boyne by Colonel Zurlauben (Vol. 962) is a vivid account of that event, while among those on Aughrim is one by Colonel de Tessé who, apart from St. Ruth, was the only French officer at that battle. In addition to these seventeen volumes, later ones deal with other events of Irish interest—e.g., accounts of the battles of Fontenoy and Lauffelt and of the Irish regiments engaged there (Vols. 3084 and 3090).

The " archives historiques " after the year 1791 have a certain number of documents relating to Ireland. Among them Vol. 506 has a copy of the " Journal de l'Expedition d'Irlande," written by Captain Jobit who came to Ireland with General Humbert in 1798. Vol. 1414 has details of French projects for Irish invasions at various periods during the eighteenth century—one of them for the year 1778 is by the famous Franco-Irish soldier Count Patrick Wall of Carlow. And there are several military reports on Ireland during the Directory and Napoleonic periods.

In the " archives administratives " are the personal dossiers of officers, and scattered through them are those of Irish officers in the French army. As an example of the other dossiers, that of General James O'Moran may be taken. Comprising nearly one hundred pages, it gives his date and place of birth in Ireland, his military activities in various campaigns during his forty years of service, his promotions, his trial and execution as a suspect royalist. In it too are a number of his letters.

ARCHIVES DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES. Among the manuscripts in the French Foreign Office a number deal, like those in the War Office, with Jacobite affairs from 1688 downwards. Volumes 168–172 contain the " Négociations de M. le Comte d'Avaux en Irlande (1689–1690)". Bearing on this, it should be mentioned that most of the Count d'Avaux's correspondence relating to Ireland has been published, under the editorship of Professor James Hogan, for the Irish Manuscripts Commission from the d'Avaux papers formerly in the British Foreign Office. But a great deal relating to Jacobitism remains unpublished, and the important parts played by Irishmen in the attempted Stuart Risings of 1708, 1715 and 1745 await a chronicler. In the French F.O. archives there is a large mass of documents on the movement centring round Prince Charles Edward (Vols. 75–93, Mémoires et Documents, Angleterre). Among them, it is interesting to note, is the Manifesto (Vol. 78) which he addressed to those whom he considered his rightful subjects, and which was printed in Dublin in August 1745.

Some of the Ms. material deals with the history of the Irish regiments in the French service. Thus Vols. 1375 and 1383 (" Affaires Intérieures, France ") have interesting memoirs written by Irish officers like the famous scientist Chevalier Patrick Darcy and Count Walsh de Serrant. These were protests against the proposed reductions of the Irish regiments about the middle of the eighteenth century, when English intrigues were working through the Duke of Bedford, British ambassador in France, to bring about the abolition of the Irish Brigade.

For the period coinciding with the Revolution and the last years of the eighteenth century there is a comparatively large amount of material relating to Ireland. Under the heading " Correspondance, Angleterre " the following gives the nature of the contents of some of the volumes :—

Tome 582. Letter from L. Maher, Procureur of the Irish College, to Le Brun, Minister of Foreign Affairs, protesting against the invasion of that institution by Municipal officials in the year 1792, when they placed seals on the registers, &c.—Letter from some students of the I. College, strong supporters of the Revolution, to the Foreign Minister, denouncing the administration of the College and its Superiors (Oct. 1792).—Letters from the Abbés Walsh and Maher regarding the I. College and giving the names of the students who had returned to Ireland.

Tome 583. Letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs defending the I. College against the Municipality and demanding that it should act more fairly " both for the sake of the principles of social order as well as for the particular affection which the Irish nation entertains for us".

Tome 584. Letter from Thomas Paine to the Foreign Minister regarding Ireland and the United Irishmen (Dec. 1792).—Letter from M. Coquebert, French Agent in Ireland, describing conditions there (Dec. 1792).—Report (anonymous) on Irish conditions in 1792.

Tomes 53, 54 and 55 of another section of the archives (" Mémoires et Documents, Angleterre ") contain a number of letters and documents of a similar nature to the above.

ARCHIVES DE LA MARINE. Several collections of manuscripts of Irish interest may be regarded as supplementary to those of the eighteenth century in the Foreign Office. Series B.4(58) has details of the activities of those Irishmen (Walsh, Butler, O'Brien &c.) who were active in 1745 in fitting out vessels for the conveyance of Prince Charles to Scotland. Tomes IV, V and VI of the series " Mémoires et

Projets " have much material regarding the French invasions of 1796 and 1798. In Tome IV, too, is a description of Ireland in 1796 (" Quelques Reflexions sur l'Irlande ") by Lewins, Tone's fellow-worker in Paris for the Irish cause—it gives a singularly vivid picture of the country at the time. Tomes IV, V and VI of another series (" Campagnes ") have much similar material. Tome IV has several of Wolfe Tone's memoirs, while in Tome VI is the log-book of Admiral de Galles during the expedition to Bantry Bay as well as a report by the French officer Bedout on its failure. Regarding the same expedition there are in series B.B.IV (Tomes 102, 103 &c.) several letters from Hoche and others written before and after that event.

Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris). The " Collection d'Hozier " in this repository has a large number of documents and genealogies relating to nearly one hundred old Irish families who passed over to France at various periods. (d'Hozier was the famous French Herald and genealogist into whose possession the papers of James Terry, Athlone Herald, came after the latter's death). The collection is made up of six divisions: " Pièces Originales," " Dossiers Bleus," " Carrés d'Hozier," " Cabinet d'Hozier," " Nouveau d'Hozier " and " Cherin". Besides their pedigrees it gives grants and confirmations of Arms to such Irish families as the O'Keeffes, O'Mahony's, O'Connors, MacNamaras, Kavanaghs, Ryans, Walshes, Powers, Brownes &c. Other manuscripts of Irish interest are to be found in the " Fonds Latins," which contain a number of lives of Irish saints and various works by Irishmen. In the " Fonds Français " are documents relative to Ireland from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, while in the " MSS. Celtiques " are two works on St. Patrick's purgatory.

Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. To the manuscripts of this library were transferred those of the Bastille, which give some details of those Irishmen confined in its dungeons from time to time. Among them were some Irish Jansenists like the abbé Barneville of Grace Dieu, Co. Dublin and his niece. (MS. 10602 gives an account of his activities and imprisonment).

British Museum and Public Record Office (London). The Add.MSS. of the British Museum contain many letters, documents, pedigrees &c. relating to Irishmen in the French service during the eighteenth century. And Vols. 40–43 of the series F.O. in the P.R.O. have letters and reports from Irishmen who were English secret service agents in France during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods.

Royal Irish Academy and National Library (Dublin). The two large volumes of de la Ponce MSS. in the R.I.A. possess a large amount of information relative to Irish soldiers in the French service and their families. Other MSS. there give details on the same subject regarding the families of MacCurtin (12M12), Wall (24D2 and 24D9), O'Gorman (24D2), Comyn (24B4), O'Reilly (24D7), O'Neil (24D2), Cusack (24D2), Hooke (24D9), Kearney (12K20), &c. And the Chevalier O'Gorman MSS., recently acquired by the National Library, contain much useful information about some notable Franco-Irish families.

III.—IRISH NOBLE FAMILIES SURVIVING IN FRANCE

In a two-volumed work entitled " La noblesse française subsistante " (published in 1928) the author, Baron de Woelmont de Brumagre, gives lists of the noble families of contemporary France with the dates of their recognition as such and with other details. The names of the following families of Irish descent (in the male line)

occur here and there throughout the work—with the year of their naturalisation in France, the year of their admission by letters-patent into the ranks of the nobility of that country, their place of residence &c. The names of those of them admitted to the honours of the court under the monarchy are also given ; and finally the names of noble Irish families in France extinct in the male line are noted.

ARCHDEACON. Irish in origin. Settled at Dunkirk and later at Paris. Confirmation of nobility by the Pretender (James III) on 1 Dec. 1721.

D'ALTON (DALTON). Baron of the Empire, 15 Jan. 1809. Count of the Empire by decree of 17 March 1860. Established in Ile de France.

BRINDEJONC DE BERMINGHAM. Established in the diocese of Saint Malo. Irish in origin. Confirmation of nobility by letters-patent on 5 and 29 May 1818 as " descended from Raoul Brindejonc de Bermingham, cadet of an old Irish family—the Berminghams of Carrick (Co. Kildare)."

BUTLER OF ROCHELLE. Native of Province of Connaught in Ireland. Mayor of La Rochelle 1739–1740. Voted 1789 in Boulonnais (States-General). Certificate of nobility of Cherin on 1 March 1766. Claim registered in the Superior Council of St. Domingo on 1 May 1779. Family branches in Picardy.

CLARKE. Established in Bordelais (district of Medoc). Naturalisation in Feb. 1710. Letters-patent recognising nobility Dec. 1766.

CLARY. Established at Marseilles. Count by imperial decree of 27 January 1870. Family extinct 8 May 1918. Name transferred to and adopted by the family of Bretonneau.

DE BLIC. Irish in origin. Settled in 1690 in Andelys and later in Normandy and Burgundy. Voted in 1789 (States General) in Chatillon-sur-Seine.

D'ARCY. Settled in Auvergne. Irish in origin. Honours of the court in 1769. Voted in 1789 at Nemours (States-General).

DILLON. Settled in Guyenne. Irish in origin. In France since 1543. Confirmation of family nobility by letters-patent in June 1759. Honours of the court with title of count on 6 March 1785 and 27 Aug. 1788.

FITZGERALD. Irish in origin. Settled in Maine and Brittany.

DE GALWEY. Irish in origin. Naturalised March 1772. Established in Maine. Voted in 1789 at Angers (States-General).

DE GIRARDIN. Settled in Lorraine and later in Ile de France. " Secretaire du Roi " on 9 April 1653. Branches in Picardy.

HARTY DE PIERREBOURG. Irish in origin. Settled in Paris. Baron of the Empire by letters-patent under the name of Fleckenstein (Pierrebourg).

HAY DE SLADE. Irish in origin. Settled in Brittany in 1698. Establishment of nobility 1763. District of Saint Malo.

HELY D'OISSEL. Irish in origin. Settled in Normandy. " Tresorier de France " at Rouen 1731. Baron of the Empire on 31 Jan. 1818.

DE KEATING. Established at Poitiers, now at Paris.

DE KIRWAN. Irish in origin. Established in Dauphiny. (Family extinct ?).

MAC-CARTHY. Naturalised in 1776. Established at Toulouse. Honours of the court with title of viscount 16 Feb. 1788.

DE CASSIN. Irish in origin (Family of MacCurtin). Settled in Touraine after Anjou. " President-tresorier de France " at the Bureau of Finances for the district of Tours in 1760. The title of hereditary baron was conferred on Florimond-Benjamin MacCurtin for the Kainlis branch of the family on 17 June 1866.

MAC-GUCKIN DE SLANE. Irish in origin.

Mac-Guir de Crux. Irish in origin. Established in Ile de France. Family extinct on 29 Dec. 1920.

De Mac-Mahon. Settled in Burgundy, Orleans and Picardy. Established in Burgundy in 1742. Confirmation of nobility by letters-patent on 23 July 1750. Hereditary peer of France 5 Nov. 1827. Confirmed in the rank of baron-peer on 4 August 1828. This branch extinct. The dukedom of Magenta was created by imperial decree on 5 June 1859 and confirmed as a hereditary title on 11 Dec. 1860.

De Nugent. Irish in origin. Confirmation of nobility by letters-patent as descended from a noble Irish family on 23 March 1821. Declared hereditary by letters-patent on 11 Jan. 1823. Confirmed for a branch which came to France in 1740 and settled in Ile de France.

O'Byrne. Irish in origin. Anne Laffan, widow of John O'Byrne and tutor of his children, voted in 1789 at Bordeaux.

O'Connor. Settled in Orleans. Voted in 1789 at Paris.

O'Farrell. Originally of Co. Longford. Settled in Picardy.

O'Gorman. Settled at Toulouse. Claim to nobility registered at the supreme council of St. Domingo on 10 July 1786. Roman count. Honours of the court with title of count granted on 3 November 1783. Branches in district of Orleans.

O'Hegarty. Settled in Lorraine in 1720. Confirmation of nobility granted by decree of council of state of Lorraine on 12 January 1761. Branch also in Picardy.

O'Kelly-Farrell. Originally of Co. Galway, Ireland. Letters of French naturalisation and recognition of ancient family nobility in Dec. 1761. Honours of the court with title of Count O'Kelly on 22 Oct. 1776. Established in Guyenne and in Albigeois, and since 1875 in Anjou. Branches around Orleans.

O'Mahony. Honours of the court with title of count on 21 January 1788. Established in Franche-Comté and in Orleannais.

O'Murphy. Settled at St. Servan (St. Malo). Confirmation of nobility on 1 March 1821. Apparently extinct.

O'Quinn. Settled in Guyenne. Voted in 1789 at Bordeaux.

O'Neil. Tyrone family. Established at La Martinique. Became extinct on 4 Feb. 1895. Another branch was established in Brittany.

O'Tard de la Grange. Irish in origin. Settled in Saintonge. Recognition of nobility by letters-patent of James II in 1700. Resident at Cognac in Angoumois.

Russell-Killough. Irish in origin. Established in Bearn and in Condomois.

Stackpole. Originally of Co. Cork, Ireland. Title of hereditary count with naturalisation by letters-patent on 21 July 1818. Created hereditary marquis by brief of Pope Leo XII in 1828. Hereditary duke by brief of Pope Gregory XVI.

De Wall. Originally of province of Leinster, Ireland. Honours of the court on 15 May 1784. Hereditary count on 11 Dec. 1829. Established in Burgundy.

Walsh de Serrant. Settled at first in Saint Malo and later in Anjou.

De Warren. Settled at Nancy in 1703. Naturalised in Lorraine on 25 Dec. 1712. Acknowledgment of nobility on 31 July 1726. Title of Roman duke conferred on a junior branch by pontifical brief on 27 May 1900.

Whyte d'Albyville. Settled in Brittany in the diocese of Saint Malo. Confirmation of nobility by letters-patent in 1788.

Wyse Bonaparte. Settled in Provence.

Richard Hayes

REVIEWS

Christian Writers : Ancient and Modern

ST. AUGUSTINE : *The First Catechetical Instruction.* Translated by Joseph P. Christopher. 1946. $2.50.

ST. AUGUSTINE : *Faith, Hope, and Charity.* Translated by Louis A. Arand, S.S. 1947. $2.50.

JULIANUS POMERIUS : *The Contemplative Life.* Translated by Sr. Mary Josephine Suelzer. 1948. $2.50.

Ancient Christian Writers Series. Westminster (Maryland) : Newman Bookshop.

These are the second, third and fourth volumes of the series inaugurated in 1946 by Father Kleist's *Epistles of SS. Clement and Ignatius of Antioch,* which was reviewed in the December issue of Studies of that year. The first of the three is an adaptation and revision of the translation and notes from its editor's complete edition of *De Catechizandis Rudibus,* published in 1926. The revision has obviously been thorough : the grammatical notes are curtailed, those on theological questions expanded, and the bibliography has been brought up-to-date. This treatise, written about the year 405, is important for many reasons. It is the first text-book on catechetics and the model for all later works on the subject. It embodies both a manual for the catechist and a course of instruction for the catechumen, and so constitutes a contribution at once to the method and the subject-matter of catechetics. Based as it is on the Decalogue, summed up in the two commandments to love God and our neighbour, it has close relations with the famous *Constitutiones Apostolorum* of St. Irenaeus, and thus goes back to an early and well-defined model.

Like all St. Augustine's works, this little treatise is also important for Church history, giving as it does a detailed picture of life in the Church in the period following on the great persecutions, and throwing interesting sidelights on the Manichaean, Donatist, and Pelagian heresies and the controversies to which they gave rise. But the chief interest of the work has always lain in its educational principles, which were to influence such great men as Petrarch, Erasmus, and Vives, and which still retain all their importance. The Editors of the series and Dr. Christopher thus deserve gratitude for making a precious document available in a pleasing and convenient form.

The second work under review is a translation of the famous *Enchiridion* or Handbook in which the Saint provided his zealous young friend Laurentius with an epitome of the main points of the Christian faith. Written between 420 and 423, the book contains echoes of nearly all the great controversies in which St. Augustine had taken part. Its method is to use the Creed and the Lord's Prayer as vehicles of instruction, but it does so in a rather one-sided fashion. Thus while it deals at great length with the problem of evil and has on almost every page a reference to the gratuitousness of grace, it has little to say of the Mass or of the doctrine of Redemption, or indeed of the Church itself. Clearly the Saint was greatly influenced in its composition by the arguments in which he had himself played such a prominent role. By virtue of this very fact, however, the little book provides us with " a fairly complete compendium of his whole theology and the system on which it rests ". As such it is noted by the translator that it was chosen as a model by Harnack when seeking to summarise St. Augustine's opinions in his *History of Dogma.*

In the case of such a work the task of an editor is not merely to translate, but to explain the often rather difficult theological problems to which it gives rise. Examples

are the effect of the Fall on free will, the existence of Purgatory, the " necessity " of sin, and the fate of unbaptised infants after death. On all such points Father Arand affords clear guidance in precise terms with no superfluity of phrase. This edition is well worthy of its place in a very promising series.

The work of Julianus Pomerius on the Contemplative Life, here for the first time translated into English, is not very accurately named. Its three books deal respectively with the subject given in its usual title, with the active life, and with the vices and the virtues. For a thousand years, from the eighth to the seventeenth century, it was universally regarded as the work of St. Prosper of Aquitaine, probably because of its high praise of St. Augustine, whom it closely follows. Since the time of Sirmond it has been recognised as the sole surviving treatise of a notable African rhetor who migrated to Gaul, was there ordained priest and became the teacher of St. Caesarius of Arles. Its date is somewhere about 500 A.D. and it deserves attention as the earliest Latin Christian work in which the classical distinction between the active and the contemplative life is fully presented. C. F. Arnold, author of the standard monograph on Cæsarius, has not unjustly called it the oldest extant manual of pastoral theology. Its author shows his rhetorical training by the elegance of his style and by his frequent expression of contempt for declamation, which was a well-worn technique. In spite of his protestations of rusticity he was well read in Greek as well as in Latin literature. His editor has served him well, and her notes are a model of learning and brevity. A few misprints, such as " Synope " on p. 186, mar her success only slightly.

M. T.

THE WAY OF PERFECTION. By St. Teresa of Jesus. Translated from the Spanish by Alice Alexander. Cork : The Mercier Press. 10s. 6d.

ST. TERESA OF JESUS. By R. P. Silverio de Santa Teresa, O.D.C. London : Sands & Co. 7s. 6d.

When writing her *life* St. Teresa had treated of matters such as prayer and perfection which her children in the newly founded convent at Avila were anxious to read. But as the *life* contained certain intimate things which it was not considered wise to make public at least for the present, the author acting on the advice of her Dominican confessor Fray Domingo Bañez, decided to treat of the questions of prayer and perfection in a separate volume. That volume turned out to be *The Way of Perfection.* St. Teresa wrote it for the nuns of her first and—at the time—only foundation, that of St. Joseph's at Avila. But as her foundations began to multiply, her new children began to petition her for a glimpse of the precious *Way.* Why should the nuns of St. Joseph have it all to themselves? The request presented a difficulty to the author. The book had been meant for a handful of friends in her own convent ; it had been written in a very simple intimate style, with no idea of a wider diffusion, still less of publication. She felt that if it were to be sent to her other convents it should be re-written ; and so she set herself to the work. And hence there are two versions of the book, with differences which their different origins explain.

The present translation, which is the first American translation of the complete work, is based on the two versions. A comparison with the translation by Professor Allison Pears, which appeared a few years ago, shows that the latter keeps more closely to the original and moreover follows the latest critical edition of the Saint's works ; hence it gets a good deal of the freshness and personal flavour of the writer. The merit of Miss Alexander's translation is that it is very clear and is in good idiomatic English. It reads very easily and smoothly.

Q

The *Way* is one of the classics of the ascetical life. It was not written for mystics but for all who entered on the Religious life and whose vocation was prayer. Like the other books of the Saint, it seems to be unsystematic and to lack plan and direction. It is true that she did not plan her books carefully and wrote them at the odd moments that her busy life allowed for literary work—which moments came chiefly at night. But the impression of being unsystematic is only superficial; the book has a real organic unity. The main subject is prayer, which is the perfection of her new foundations. But prayer cannot be practised without the practice of certain other virtues—especially the virtues of mutual charity, of detachment from material and worldly things, and of humility. And so the Saint treats of these virtues—but in true subordination to the main theme of the book. And it should be noted that the prayer she speaks of principally is not mystical prayer but ordinary prayer.

The *Way* is not a scientific treatise, such as might be written by a theologian or ascetical student. Its peculiar value is that it is written by a great saint and that it deals with a subject with which she had a long and intimate experience. It was not written from books; she had only to consult her own soul and memory. Her native good sense, balance and prudence are everywhere evident; but these are not the highest qualities. It is to the sense of reality, of unction coming from personal experience, that it owes, most of all, its power. The fact that within a few years three translations of it have been made into English is an indication of the abiding appeal and influence of *The Way of Perfection.*

P. Silverio de Santa Teresa O.D.C. is one of the greatest of Teresian scholars and has spent many years on a critical edition of St. Teresa's works—an edition so superior to the previous ones that Dr. Allison Pears considered that there was a place, if not a need, for a new English translation based on it. Fr. Silverio is steeped in the knowledge of his subject, and this short biography is drawn from a full cask. It is often simple and naive in tone, but it is full of matter. It is still fuller of sympathy and admiration. For the author, St. Teresa is as real as a contemporary; he knows intimately the people she lived with, the places she stayed at; and he writes with a strong sense of her charm and power.

It is instructive to compare this book with the most recent other short life of the same saint—*The Mother of Carmel* by Allison Pears. This latter is an admirable example of modern biography, in which the author, effacing himself rigidly, makes his subject reveal herself by her action and word. P. Silverio writes like a contemporary not merely in knowledge but also in his conception of the biographer's art. He is very much in evidence; he appraises, draws lessons, moralises; he shows his enthusiasm for the saint in every page. Those who like their biography neat will prefer Professor Allison Pears's book; but those who care to mix their *genres* and want a life that is at the same time a panegyric will welcome this charming and enthusiastic sketch.

H. K.

THE CHRIST OF CATHOLICISM. A Meditative Study. By Dom Aelred Graham. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1948. 21s.

THE EVERYDAY CATHOLIC. By Martin Harrison, O.P. Oxford: Blackfriars. 1948. 10s. 6d.

FROM August 24th to September 5th will be held at Amsterdam the first "Assembly of the World Council of Churches" to deal with the question of "Man's Disorder and God's Design". In the preparatory outline of the agenda, the World Council of Churches is defined "a fellowship of Churches which accept our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour", and we are told that ninety-nine Churches from thirty-

three countries are enrolled—in fact " every major branch of Christendom (except the Roman Catholic Church) have become members". (Outline, S.C.M. Press).

Statesmen, philosophers, religious leaders are all united in a jeremiad of disaster if no means can be found to save man from himself. Christians are agreed, in theory at least, that " *there is no other name* (than that of Jesus) *under heaven given to men, whereby we must be saved* " (Acts, iv. 12); must they not be, if they accept Christ " as God and Saviour "? But from that acceptance should arise " The Church of Christ ", not " Churches "—" *one Lord, one faith, one baptism* ". Those who drafted the Assembly programme are fully conscious of this fact: in the text it is not with the responsibility of the Churches that they are concerned, but with that of the Church, which for the ninety-nine sects is a wishful dream. It is also to be noticed that the divinity of Christ drops into the background: they speak of Christ as Lord, as Saviour, as King, but not clearly as God; and they make the inevitable admission " that the Assembly does not have the right to speak for the Churches to the world or the ecclesiastical authority to command the assent of the Churches themselves " (Outline, p. 50).

Now Christ definitely established a Church, " a city seated on a mountain ", with authority to " teach all nations ". Does it not exist or must Churches be ever looking for " a light under a bushel "? A fresh presentation of the answer will be found in Dom Aelred Graham's *The Christ of Catholicism*—and, at the same time, the key to the Roman Catholic attitude of naturally refusing to hunt for the treasure which she has always possessed.

One of the questions proposed for discussion by the Assembly is: " What is the meaning, for the *Una Sancta*, of the creeds of the worldwide Christian movements of our time, both in their achievements and their omissions "? The real question to be faced is: What can be the one and only meaning of the *Una Sancta* for the Christian who accepts the Christ of the Gospels as the only-begotten Son of God? In seven chapters Dom Aelred gives the unchanging answer of the Catholic Church. Though he disclaims apologetic as a primary aim, his work is nonetheless an excellent bit of apologetic, and one thinks that the introductory chapter, The Point of View of the Church, should be a more serviceable document on the Assembly tables than any the Churches can offer. In it he raises the fundamental question: " Who is Christ "? Dealing with the Christological work of the early Church Councils he happily quotes one whom the Churches consider a comrade, Professor Sanday, who wrote: " The decisions in question were thus the outcome of a long evolution, every step in which was keenly debated by minds of great acumen and power, really far better equipped for such discussions than the average Anglo-American mind to-day "—a judgment, adds Dom Aelred, " which might also have included the average German, and has gained rather than lost in force since it was first made ". (p. 20).

The chapter headings cover familiar ground: The Life-work of Jesus Christ, The Personality of Jesus Christ, The Divine Redeemer, Consequences of the Incarnation . . . . but those who are not themselves expert theologians will find, thanks above all to his skill in handling Scripture texts, a fund of information covering a wide field.

The professional theologian reveals himself in the chapter on the Personality of Jesus, yet it is in this chapter that one would desire, for the ordinary reader, a clearer presentation of some points. Thus we are told that " He acquired by experience knowledge of the world around him, just as we do. But always he had been ' filled with wisdom ' . . . . he had that intuition into the nature of things which is, properly speaking, angelic rather than human " (p. 195). The untrained mind would surely need some elucidation here. Again: " The Son of God freely assumed *our* human nature—not as in its primitive innocence but in its fallen state ". When

he continues that " there was nothing in him traceable to physical imperfection " and that " he enjoyed the vision of God, as well as immunity from original sin ", we naturally ask if that be just " our human nature in its fallen state "? (p. 197).

What are we to understand by the words : " Our Lord's human nature is not a separate entity, but has been taken up into union with God, so as to form with him one person ", (p. 199) ? Is not the human nature an entity created in time, a reality which it can never lose ? That the saints " scarcely ever employ the ' I ' save to accuse themselves of their sins " (p. 212) seems an exaggeration, not borne out by St. Paul's " I have fought the good fight " ; " the things . . . . which you have seen in me, these do ye ", nor with St. Thérèse's promise to shower roses from heaven. The miracles are treated very briefly and, in view of the Vatican Council's appeal to the miracles and to the Resurrection, it is difficult to subscribe to the proposition that " from the point of view of Christian apologetics, it should be remembered that the supreme motive of credibility is not miracles, but the character of him who worked them " (p. 82).

Chapter VI on The Incarnation through the Ages should make a wide appeal not only to the mind but to the heart of those who wistfully look for a kingdom of God on earth, as it will enrich the faith of those who look to the " Church, his mystical Body, to reproduce his sacrificial life, proclaiming to the world the death of the Lord ' until he comes '." (p. 329).

Fr. Harrison's book is one of practical apologetics. It develops the saying of Christ : " *For by the fruit the tree is known* " (Matt. xii, 33). In seventy-six chapters, each of a few pages, it offers, as the Preface claims, " a simple Summa for the work-a-day Catholic . . . . for the busy mother of a family, for the hard-working father, for the tradesman, the business girl, rather than for the learned and the highbrow ". Most readers, of whom we trust there will be many, are likely to be stimulated by the chapters on everyday conduct : Daily Faults, Gossip, Criticism, Selfishness, Moods and Feelings, and the rest. The writer's pastoral experience serves him in good stead on all these topics : we might mention especially the chapters on Religion, Necessity of Religion, Saints and Sanctity.

Some of the chapters of a more dogmatic character are less appealing. That on " Original Sin ", pointing out " the wounds that human nature incurred ", could easily leave the impression of a nature intrinsically wounded. The Trinity is, of course, the most difficult of mysteries to present to the " Everyday Catholic ", but he is hardly helped by stessing the difficulty and by language such as " there was no beginning in begetting the Word ". It is disappointing, in the chapter on the Sacred Heart, to find no mention of St. Margaret Mary and the special revelation : indeed, as treated, it might be just as aptly called : The Loving Mercy of Christ. There is only one chapter on grace, which would hardly bring home to the average reader the meaning and the necessity of a supernatural elevation. This is a pity, as the wonders of grace are not commonly understood.

Apart from these restrictions the book is a very useful one ; and one would certainly like to see Dom Aelred's *The Christ of Catholicism* side by side, in every Catholic home, with Father Harrison's *The Everyday Catholic*, which suggests many practical applications following from the Word dwelling amongst us.

G. B.

BIOGRAPHY

THE AGE OF ADAM. By James Lees-Milne. London : Batsford. 1948. 21s

KINGS have given their names to period decoration but civilians rarely. Shadowy figures like Chippendale and the less substantial Sheraton have dared to label a

sideboard or a chair, but the style of a period is seldom content with less than a royal caption. Two names occur as exceptions, Adam in eighteenth-century England and Biedermaier, the German equivalent of Queen Victoria and Louis Philippe. Biedermaier is, however, not fairly to be reckoned being but an epiphany of the Zeitgeist. His was only a fictional and textbook existence, a creation of comedy living with Sancho Panza and M. Jourdain in the paradise of inflated philistines. But Robert Adam, the shrewd Scotsman, had a very real existence and, like any Louis, gave his name to his age, though he nearly paid for it with the penalty of Icarus, sunk in the sea he christened.

No name is more familiarly identified with eighteenth-century decoration; but the revolution he wrought in its style was so obvious and complete that it hid from later generations his distinction as an architect. In 1757, when he was more strictly a travelling student, Piranesi had dedicated plates to him as " a most celebrated British architect". Within four or five years after his return from Italy he was building Harewood, Kedleston and Syon House, the earliest of a series of great country houses to be followed by town houses in London and Edinburgh and by no inconsiderable amount of public building. It was as a fashionable architect that he had to maintain his position against the rivalry of Wyatt and the more rancorous enmity of Chambers, who succeeded—though he was the king's architect—in excluding him from the Royal Academy.

Adam's style had its roots in Italy. His Italian journey, extended to Spalatro, provided himself and his brother with the stock of ideas which he exploited, dexterously and with sufficient originality, for the rest of his life in books and building, in paint and stucco. He was in Rome at a good moment, when archæologists and architects were agitated in a controversy that had blown up between Greeks and Romans. The quarrel had begun innocently enough with the publication of Piranesi's Roman views, which he followed up with those more remarkable drawings charged with his characteristic romantic and sombre intensity. Piranesi, patriotic though not specially quarrelsome, conceived that later studies by the Comte de Caylus and Le Roy of Greek antiquities were in some way a slight upon the Rome he loved and re-created. He entered on a controversial vindication of Rome which involved the writers of four nations.

Stirred by these broils and fortified by study and assiduous drawing of Roman palaces and baths and Pompeian and Renaissance wall decoration, Robert Adam formulated his own coherent manner. He was shrewd, calculating and very responsive to the temper of his age. He was eclectic, impartial and practical. He accepted Piranesi's estimate of the Palladians as sterile pedants, and the Burlingtonians and Chambers fell under this censure. But he was as little neo-Grec as Chambers in construction, though Greek elements appeared in his ornament. In their writings the brothers, Robert and James, claimed not without some truth that, unassisted, they had effected " a kind of revolution in the whole system of the useful and elegant art " of architecture; that in their hands " architecture has already become more elegant and more interesting. The parade, the convenience and social pleasures of life, being better understood, are more strictly attended to in the arrangement and disposition of apartments ". Seeking elegance and convenience they deprecated the ordered pomp and pillared circumstance of the Palladians; though, in fact, the Burlingtonian domes, semi-domes and apsidal forms appear freely enough in Robert Adam's work. Most of all they took credit for the re-introduction of movement, meaning by movement anything that by way of recession, convexity or concavity serves to produce an agreeable and diversified contour. In spite of their refinement they admired Vanbrugh's mass and movement; but in their practice they were cautious, and Borromini and the baroque architects would have detected even less than in Vanbrugh the trace of much movement in their adagio.

Anything that savoured of rococo they rigidly avoided. The essence of good form, the new style was a cautious compromise between the Burlingtonians who preceded and the frozen neo-Grec which followed.

Robert Adam's wall and ceiling decoration, though wholly devoid of structural meaning, was in harmony with his building. It was again a characteristically eclectic compromise. Its only originality lay in its tasteful combination. It was made of linear geometry into whose ovals circles and lunettes paintings or very low reliefs could be appropriately introduced. Mural arabesques reproduced the motifs of Pompeian wall painters, Raffaelle and Giovanni da Udine. Greek details and classical accessories found their place in drawingrooms, discreetly flattering the company like a classical allusion in a speech of Mr. Pitt. The high and white plastic reliefs of the fifties receded into painted medallions and friezes or gay and perspicuous patterns whose radial lines and variety of delicate colour matched the flutter of fans beneath.

The Adam style was enormously popular and affected the whole domestic equipment. But, lending itself easily to mass production, what charmed by refinement bored by repetition. The curse of Adam soon lay heavy on the land. The craftsman's initiative dying out was coffined in moulds and castings. The fluent grace of Stephen's Green and Mountjoy Square stiffened into the cast-iron anthemions of the Rathmines Road railings and the reach-me-up *décor* of our new snack bars.

In recent years attention has returned to the Adams as architects, and now Mr. Lees-Milne has added to Bolton's monumental volumes a comprehensive survey of their period, examining their entire work in its full context. His narrative is lucid and vivacious. Against a generally accepted opinion he makes a strong, though not (I think) an impregnable, case in favour of the view that the Adam style was transmitted to the continent to become *Louis seize*. In an age that was, as Mr. Lees-Milne rightly says, extremely flexible and quick-moving in matters of taste it is not easy to isolate an individual influence from a stream of tendency. But I may, perhaps, support Mr. Lees-Milne's argument to this extent that Columbani's *New Book of Ornament* (1775), Francis Johnston's copy of which lies before me, refers to its Adamesque arabesques as Ornemens . . . . pour embellir des Chambres à l'Angloise. Continuing his account of the spread of Adam's influence, Mr. Lees-Milne refers to his work in Ireland and in particular to his work at Headfort. Readers will recall the Adam designs for the decoration of this house which the Marquess of Headfort lent to the exhibition arranged last year in the National Library by the new Irish Architectural Record Association. Some other of his Irish references, however, require modification. I do not know any Irish building that can be attributed to Cassells as early as 1725. The second reference on page 165 to Bessborough is a slip for Russborough. I am aware of no authority for the association of Adam with the actual building or decoration of Summerhill. Plate 150 suggests that Robert Mack, builder of Powerscourt House, Dublin, was responsible for its decoration. The ceiling illustrated is the work of the Dublin master-builder and stuccodore, Michael Stapleton. The staircase wall illustrated on plate 151 is stated to be from No. 17 St. Stephen's Green. It is in fact the well-known staircase of Belvedere College and is again the work of Michael Stapleton, its architect and decorator, who indeed is also responsible for the Stephen's Green house mistakenly mentioned. And one may add that while it is true that Joseph Rose brought over plasterers to decorate Castlecoole, Adam in his turn imported Irish plasterers for his London firm ; and Rose himself borrowed designs from the pattern book of the Dublin stuccodore McCullough. Apart from more remote influences such interchanges make it difficult to particularise the share of a single designer where none were original. I would hesitate to say that the mature Adam style exists

unqualified by any admixture in late eighteenth-century Dublin, and incline to believe that at no period in that volatile century were diverse influences not discernible even in the same house.

These reservations impair in no degree the interest of Mr. Lees-Milne's survey, which holds its balance as fairly as may be required in a vindication of its subject. The book is copiously illustrated; and the coloured plates, with the textual references to colour, will be found of special use to owners of houses decorated in the manner of this age who wish to bring them back to their original brilliance.

C. P. CURRAN

DANIEL O'CONNELL. By Denis Gwynn. Revised Centenary Edition. Cork: University Press. Oxford: Blackwell. 1947. 15s.

IN its original form, little altered in this revision, Dr. Gwynn's book was published for the centenary of Catholic Emancipation in 1929. Now, as then, it has the market almost all to itself, for every other biography of O'Connell is once again out of print. Indeed, some of the older works on the Liberator, such as O'Neill Daunt's very valuable *Personal Recollections* and Arthur Houston's edition of the youthful Journals, are almost unprocurable. The present publication will thus do much to fill a most serious gap in our historical literature.

There is one drawback about this opportune revision of an admirable book, and Dr. Gwynn himself very fairly points it out in his preface. It is that insufficient space is devoted in it to the important post-Emancipation period. This is also the case with most previous books on O'Connell, with the result that the ordinary idea of him has been seriously distorted. His fluctuating policies in dealing with Whigs and Tories before and after Reform, his limited triumph under Melbourne, his final brilliant Repeal campaign and lingering eclipse as the Famine spread over Ireland are all of at least equal importance with the great movement for Emancipation, and deserve much more thorough study than they have so far been given. Dr. Gwynn himself promises much new light on the last phase in his forthcoming biography of Smith O'Brien, of which he has given already several interesting preliminary sketches.

This long-needed work is certain to alter our whole historical perspective in many ways and to render possible a new and fairer judgment on the Young Ireland episode. Its publication will render more requisite than ever a complete and final study of O'Connell's whole Repeal policy. It is to be hoped that some scholar will also be stimulated by it to prepare a complete edition of the *corpus* of O'Connell documents, the present position in regard to which is nothing short of a disgrace to Irish historical study. In the meantime we may warmly recommend Dr. Gwynn's work as by far the most mature and objective that has yet appeared on its subject. Nowhere else, for example, has such good use been made of Houston's discovery of the Journals which threw so much light on O'Connell's radicalism.

There is also offered for sale an edition bound in stiff paper for 10s. 6d. While thanking the Cork University Press for a welcome and valuable publication, we should like to urge the need for an improvement, if possible, in its paper, format, and printing.

T.

BLOY THE PROPHET

PILGRIM OF THE ABSOLUTE. By Léon Bloy. A selection of his writings edited by Raïssa Maritain. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1948. 18s.

TRANSLATED into English and printed in America, this is the first anthology of the great and grinding Fury of French literature called Léon Bloy. In his lifetime he was found impossible and unreadable. He was utterly outside the great muddy current of Naturalist writing prevading the Third Republic. He seemed ludicrously

out of date and out of sympathy with resurgent France ; yet he was a fierce patriot, a mystical Nationalist, and it has been by his writings that France has lived in her dark days rather than on the speeches of Gambetta or the cynicism of Anatole France or the realism of Zola.

A handful of disciples have been justified, of whom Jacques Maritain writes the introduction. Every year there are less and less Catholics asking : who was Léon Bloy ? In France there can be none. Vaguely you might say to a young student of French literature : " By all means read Voltaire, Michelet, Zola, but from time to time take Bloy as an emetic ! "

Readers have discovered, as in the case of Gerard Manley Hopkins, that a high sense of Catholic devotion and sacrifice has been allied to something new and perfect in literature. Of sacrifice and devotion Catholic life is full almost to repletion, but of heights in literature it is lacking. Hence the perennial charm of Newman. Hence the craving to write articles and books about Hopkins or Bloy. Take Hopkins who did his utmost to bury his talent in a Jesuit alb. Books do not cease to appear about him, and Father Bischopp's final commentary and biography is still unfinished. Bloy cannot be said to have concealed his gifts in the Scriptural napkin. He screamed and raved aloud. He attempted to darken the French field of Letters with Apocalyptic clouds. He certainly threw a great deal of spark. His writings survive by sheer force of style ; and his message, trampled in the dust of the nineteenth-century Boulevards, has come full circle. This writer, whose strident pen flashed word of the Immortality as preached by the Catholic Church, this veritable " Pilgrim of the Absolute " is now on his way to outlive the greater number of the contemporary " Immortals " of the French Academy.

Readers, who have never been able to collect his books or have not had the patience to wrestle with his elaborate verbiage, can now take their full of Léon Bloy in English translation. On the whole, strong scriptural cursing, fierce mystical vindications and flowing fury of style survive the process better than delicate allusions or flowery paragraphs.

Jacques Maritain describes his first visit to the broken old prophet in 1905 after climbing up the stairs of the Sacré Cœur Basilica in Paris. " Instead of being a whited sepulchre like the Pharisees of all times, he was a charred, blackened cathedral. The white part was inside, deep in the tabernacle."

Various phases well known to readers of Bloy can be recognised in the chapter-readings. "Marchenoir" is himself projected into the terrible novel *Le désespéré*. " The Wisdom of the Bourgeois " reflects his life-long assaults on the commonplace Christianity and comfortable acceptance of the sheltered life of the middle-class, whose investments, both spiritual and temporal, once seemed so secure in both worlds. The attack on Capital is more subtle and sustained than any by Marx. It is curious that the Communists never discovered Bloy and that the Catholics very hesitatingly have gathered up the ashes of his self-consuming fire. Stray Communists becoming engrossed in his works have been faced with the dilemma of conversion or—madness !

" She who weeps " and " The Mystery of Israel " touch the two great mystical trajectories of his life, in which he illumined the story of Our Lady's apparition at La Salette and the whole Jewish problem in history. All his other mystifications were secondary : Christopher Columbus, the lost Dauphin, Joan of Arc and finally the Soul of Napoleon.

To Bloy the Bible was the supreme and only Book : God's own story told by the Divine Author Himself. In his own historical works he essayed to continue the Old and New Testaments in one long and spiritualised vision. For him miracles, prophecies, apocalypses had not ceased. It only remained to connect them with the twenty centuries which had followed the central act of the Christian Religion.

SHANE LESLIE

Economics

ORDEAL BY PLANNING. By John Jewkes. London: Macmillan. 1948. 12s. 6d.

The socialist experiment in Great Britain is begetting an expression of criticism which is of great value in the development of economic theory. Capitalism has been subjected to attack from every side for many years. Until recently the socialists have been in the happy position of comparing the blueprints of an ideal society with the defective working of a society in being, with all the blemishes and imperfections of real life. The war has hastened the growth of planning in Great Britain which is now subject to a very considerable measure of State control. Socialism in practice is beginning to exhibit some defects which did not appear in the blueprints of the ideal socialist State. Economists of liberal leanings have begun to raise their voice in protest against the inefficiency and injustices caused by the British experiment in planning. Professor Robbins's Marshall Lectures,[1] Sir Hubert Henderson's Rede Lecture,[2] Mr. Harrod's *Are These Hardships Necessary*?[3] and Professor Robertson's Presidential Address to the Royal Economic Society [4] were all directed to a partial restatement of the orthodox individualist case in favour of the allocation of resources by means of a free-pricing system. The political dangers of planning were brilliantly exposed by Professor Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom.*[5] The argument against planning has been substantially reinforced by the publication of *Ordeal by Planning,* which is designed to show that all the warnings issued to the people of Great Britain by Professor Hayek have been proved true by the practical experience of three years of Labour Government. Professor Jewkes hopes that " the lessons to be drawn from that experiment, if they can be drawn coolly and without bias, may well change the whole course of economic thinking in the world ".

Professor Jewkes confesses that the publication of his book was a painful duty, necessary to demonstrate that the " melancholy decline of Great Britain is largely of our own making ". He calls attention to " the fall in our standard of living to a level which excites the pity and evokes the charity of many other richer countries, the progressive restriction on individual liberties, the ever-widening destruction of respect for law, the steady sapping of our instinct for tolerance and compromise, the sharpening of class distinctions, our growing incapacity to play a rightful part in world affairs ". All these are the result of " the fallacy that the best way of ordering economic affairs is to place the responsibility for all crucial decisions in the hands of the State ". The evils of economic planning extend far beyond the economic field. " The various strands of personal liberty—economic political and social—are bound together. We weaken or destroy one and the whole rope inevitably snaps ". The weakening of economic liberty undermines the foundations of all security and freedom. " The struggle between central planners and their opponents goes on in terms of economics. But the stakes are moral and spiritual. If the issue were simply that of a little more or a little less wealth, the fight would be of no moment. In fact the prizes are the ultimate prizes: room for the mind freely to follow its own courses; room for society to enrich itself by the encouragement of diversity and the tolerance of eccentricity; room for the growth of dignity in human relations. Everything, indeed, that is bound up with the uniqueness of personality and with the Christian ethic ". This is a serious indictment of economic planning. Who can say that it is exaggerated? It has been

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[1] *The Economic Problem in Peace and War.* Macmillan, 3s. 6d.
[2] *The Uses and Abuses of Economic Planning.* Cambridge University Press. 1s. 6d.
[3] Hart-Davis. 5s.
[4] *The Economic Outlook.* Economic Journal Vol. LVII, p. 421.
[5] Reviewed in *Studies,* Vol. XXXIII, pp. 210-218.

proved to be true in every totalitarian society. It is equally valid when the outward forms of democracy are temporarily preserved. The disease is the same in both instances ; the only difference is the rapidity at which the patient is ravaged. The free society is precarious ; it is sensitive to onslaughts by tyranny from every side. " It can be defended only by a robust defence at every point of the precious minimum circle of individual rights ".

Like many other evils, planning is paved with good intentions. Professor Jewkes suggests that there are six commendable human aspirations lying behind the movement. They are : the desire to avoid unemployment, the feeling that men must be masters of their own destiny, the extension of the scientific method into the social field, the growth of productivity, the maintenance of security, the desire for equality. The purpose of his book is " to show that these legitimate aspirations are completely and finally frustrated by central State planning. For central planning ultimately turns every individual into a cipher and every economic decision into blind fumbling, destroys the incentives through which economic progress arises, renders the economic system as unstable as the whims of the few who ultimately control it and creates a system of wire-pulling and privileges in which economic justice ceases to have any meaning ". The main argument of the book is that Great Britain exhibits symptoms of all these evil tendencies. Of course, the disease has not yet run its full course ; it is still in its incipient, and therefore insidious stage. But the course towards planning has been set ; it will soon be too late to reverse. " It is accepted by all that we cannot remain where we are, that either we go forward to more planning or we go back to the free price mechanism and all that is bound up with it. It is precisely because I am convinced that the choice has to be made, once and for all, in the immediate future, that I have written this book ".

Professor Jewkes succeeds in making the Labour Government and its academic supporters look extremely foolish. A well-chosen collection of extracts from Ministers' speeches convicts them of every form of loose-thinking and inconsistency. Is the purpose of the book therefore purely negative and destructive ? The answer to this question is affirmative " if clearing a field of weeds before planting the new crop is negative and destructive, or if trying to stop a horse running wildly down a public street is negative and destructive ". Capitalism has suffered from purely destructive criticism at the hands of its opponents. Its bad points have been emphasized and its good points ignored. One of the most valuable things in Professor Jewkes's book is the demonstration that the capitalist system is not necessarily guilty of the many defects of which it is accused. The argument, most persuasively put by Professor Schumpeter, that the business man is obsolete, that his function no longer needs to be performed is convincingly refuted. The suggestion that competition tends to be replaced by monopoly is shown to be much exaggerated. Moreover, the dangers of monopoly can be greatly reduced by suitable measures short of over-all planning. The charge that large scale unemployment is inevitable is out of date and ignores the whole modern theory of full-employment policies. It is as obsolete as the cruder forms of Malthusianism or of the theory of the wages fund. The danger of capitalism to-day is not so much unemployment as inflation. " The second half of the twentieth century may be the age of inflation just as the first half was the age of mass unemployment. We may, that is to say, jump from the frying pan into the fire ". There is an excellent discussion on how inflation can be avoided in a policy of full-employment. If the book contained nothing else, this section alone would render it an essential study for every serious economist.

Having cleared the ground by this defence of a free economic system, Professor Jewkes proceeds to criticize planning. It is impossible to do more than indicate the main counts in the indictment. Great confusion is shown to prevail among different planners who are in disagreement about the aims they wish to achieve.

But, in spite of these disagreements, they all share certain unpleasant characteristics. " The planners jointly subscribe to many economic articles of faith which constitute the breeding ground for some of the major economic fallacies of our time ". They are Utopians, they oversimplify the economic problem, they despise the consumer, they fear the price system, they misunderstand the function of the distributor, they use words in loose and inconsistent senses. Expressions such as democratic society, the national interest, orderly progress, a balanced economy, are used in a slipshod fashion which " dilutes when it does not poison the meaning to the point where discussion could just as usefully be carried on in pure gibberish ". The use of slogans saves the mental fatigue of rational thought. In spite of their contempt for pricing, they attempt to show that pricing can be re-introduced in a socialist system where the very conditions of its successful operation have been destroyed. " A socialist price system will not be the impersonal system of the competitive free economy but a price system geared to implement the outcome of a shouting match ". A planned economy cannot be properly described as " scientific ". The pricing system is distorted from its natural functions, mistakes will not be admitted, the absence of profits and losses deprives the system of the only rational test of success and failure. Planning is an unscientific gamble with the odds against success ". Judged by its own purely material standard of productivity, planning has not been shown to be productive of greater wealth than capitalism. The weaknesses and wastes of planning do not cease to exist because they can be partly concealed. They are, in fact, greater than the weaknesses and wastes of capitalism. Incentives are weaker and productive exertion therefore less. Healthy rivalry is discouraged. The correlation between effort and reward is reduced. The middle class of business and professional men, who were responsible for so much progress in the past, is penalized and impoverished. " There is no evidence to be derived, either from history or from an examination of the motives which underlie effort, to suggest that the centrally planned economy will give us greater economic wealth than the free economy. The case for the planned economy must be based on other grounds ".

The most widely-held grounds put forward as an argument for planning are that it would provide stability and security. A certain amount of instability and insecurity may be the necessary marks of a progressive free society. Stability and security may therefore be secured at too high a price. Professor Jewkes argues that they will not be secured, at any price however high, under planning, but will be reduced. He contends that a " centrally directed economy must inevitably tend to wasteful discontinuity and disruption in the process of production". Decisions are based on political motives, which, in a democratic country, change with changes of Government or even of Ministers in the same Government. This is illustrated by very relevant examples of the vacillations of the Labour Government on housing, fuel and the balance of payments. This vacillation can be averted only by setting up a totalitarian regime which can pursue its course regardless of popular wishes or popular criticism. In other words, successful planning is inconsistent with free political institutions. The destruction of the economic freedom of choice of occupation, disposal of income and the right to property leads to the destruction of freedom of expression and freedom to change the government. " The restriction of one freedom almost invariably reduces others. The freedoms hang together ; the living social tissue of which they form a part can be destroyed by an attack on them jointly or severally ".

Planning moreover reduces public morality. Over-regulation leads to a contempt for law, evasion of irksome controls and black marketing. In Great Britain since 1945 " contempt for authority has increased ; class consciousness has become more acute ; cynicism regarding corruption in public life more prevalent ; personal and class irresponsibility more in evidence ; gambling practices more widespread.

Liberal society in all its aspects is being eaten away ". The mistakes of the planners are blamed on all sorts of scapegoats. Charges of obstruction and of sabotage are rife. There is a witchhunt for spivs, drones, butterflies and eels. The final count against planning is that it leads to international friction and reduces the benefits of international trade. " Planning by individual nations must lead to international chaos . . . . International economic relations become highly unstable because of the recurrence of national planning crises and because trading is a matter of high politics and thereby suffers from every twist and turn in political relations." The final chapter is an account of the evil consequences of the policy of the Labour Government on Great Britain's international economic position. A planned economy, it is argued, must always end in bilateralism. " A planner trying to adhere to multilateralism is working to a double moral code ". The British Government, by its policy of planning, has been forced to eat its own words and betray all its declared good intentions to restore free international trade.

The indictment is complete. The critical part of Professor Jewkes's task has been successfully achieved. The ground has been cleared of weeds. What crop does he suggest should be planted in their place? Generally, he advocates the restoration of competitive conditions and the free-pricing system with whatever safeguards are necessary to adapt it to the requirements of to-day. The pricing system, he argues, has been subjected to so much ignorant and unfair attack that its abuses are common property and its merits largely unknown. " The case for planning could hardly have made the progress it has made were it not for the current misrepresentations and pure ignorance regarding the nature of the economic system . . . . more converts are brought to the planning fold through ignorance of the price system than through any other cause ". Capitalism is criticized on innumerable grounds " many of which are mutually contradictory and most of which are without foundation in fact ". Suggestions that some of the weaknesses of capitalism in practice are capable of remedy are " rejected as wishful thinking ". The experience of planning in practice, by exposing its shortcomings, will render easier the demonstration of the merits of the alternative system of allocating resources by a free-pricing system. The time has come for a counter-offensive against the planners. The publication of Professor Jewes's book is a signal that the campaign has begun in earnest.

The debate may be conducted primarily in terms of economics, but the issues are much wider. The whole structure of free society is at stake. Not the least valuable merit of the pricing system is that it enables the material needs of society to be met with the least conscious effort. In planned economies everybody is kept painfully aware of the economic problem. Gaining a livelihood becomes the main end of public endeavour and discussion. The free market system, on the other hand, creates " automatic regulations which will enable us to provide for our physical needs by the most economical route, of pushing economic problems into a corner to be forgotten, like the thermostat in a house, so that we can get on as uninterruptedly as possible with the real art of living ". This quotation strikes the proper note on which to terminate this introduction to Professor Jewkes's valuable book, which is inspired by the spirit of true liberalism in the best sense of that much-abused word.

G. O'BRIEN

POLITICS AND SOCIOLOGY

THE FREE SOCIETY. By John Middleton Murry. London: Andrew Dakers. 1948. 12s. 6d. net.

MR. MIDDLETON MURRY was at one time a convinced pacificist and even, one gathers, signed a document as an overt expression of the faith that was in him. " With this

book ", he tells us, " which is the first fruits of my continuous thinking during the war, I discard my pacificism and deliberately enter the political arena, in the hope that I may persuade my countrymen to make their political purposes completely unambiguous and make it plain to all the world that they will contemplate war for one purpose and one purpose only . . . . the abolition of war, in the only way war can be abolished, by the establishment of a free society of nations ".

He is now convinced that pacificism is a mistake. Its principle is : " Avoid war ! " The correct principle is " Abolish war ! " Russia is keen at the moment on avoiding war—but only in order to make itself fit for a future war. Mr. Middleton Murry thinks that it should be made quite clear to the Russian people that ultimate political problems must be solved democratically and that for this purpose it must become part of, or enter into, " the free society ". It is obviously, in present circumstances, difficult to make anything clear to the Russian people ; but Mr. Murry thinks that it is, perhaps, not impossible. War of any kind is a vast and overwhelming evil and preventive war is particularly obnoxious. But if the attempt to bring Russia into the " free society " fails, then " war to abolish war " must be faced.

Just as an individual " free society " is a society " whose members are knit together by obedience to the moral law recognised by all ", so a free society of nations is a society which has abolished war and in which all problems are determined by what the free society of nations determines to be just. This may seem a doctrine difficult to stomach, but it is for Mr. Murry the kernel of his whole system. What, after all, is Justice ? Where are we to get an authoritative exposition of the moral law ? " The content of the moral law ", Mr. Murry tells us, " is absolutely simple. Abolish war ! This primary content of the moral law is the same for the free society of citizens or the free society of nations. Nothing else matters, for everything is contained in it ; and the good will be progressively revealed in the free society of nations, as it has been in the free society of citizens, once that imperative has been obeyed ".

There is nothing Utopian, Mr. Murry thinks, in all this. Nor is it remote, since it is implicit in " the declared policies of the greatest of the free societies—America and Britain ".

Mr. Murry writes with intense moral earnestness and in a style which is almost apocalyptic. Nor is it easy, with the evidence that is available to us at the moment, to avoid his conclusion that war is inevitable and that, if it is inevitable, it is better to realize that and why it is so.

Mr. Murry's account of the " free society ", how it has developed historically and what is its nature is much more difficult to accept. His account of the " free society " has obvious relations to the Kantian theory of morals and suffers from the same fatal defect, that it gives no definite information as to what the content of the moral life really is. In addition there is a kind of mystical element in Mr. Murry's theory. Freedom is everything, and in the atmosphere of freedom the moral life will inevitably emerge and develop. Christianity has been hitherto represented by the Church or the churches. But, and this is a central doctrine of Mr. Murry's, Christianity has been betrayed by the churches and is now adequately and finally embodied in the " free society". Mr. Murry is engaged in the obviously futile task of holding fast to some vague idea of " Christianity " while abolishing the Christian Church. It requires a good deal of—no doubt, unconscious—arrogance and a " plentiful lack " of humour to speak of " the real issue between my ' Christianity ' and that of the Christian Church ".

It would be tedious to follow Mr. Murry's description of the " free society " and what it implies. Its freedom, so far as the individual is concerned, turns out at times to be very evanescent and closely allied to the idea of freedom made familiar

to us by the Hegelians. Conscience is objectified in the political institutions of a free society, and the individual conscience apparently must yield. " The purely individual conscience is an anachronism and a non-entity. Its experience is purely subjective and is akin to hallucination ". So difficult is it, even in Mr. Murry's new " Christianity " to escape from Rousseau's paradox that a man should be " forced to be free " !

That Mr. Murry follows all great reformers in regarding his own form of " Christianity "—the " free society "—as final is in the nature of the case. It is final because it alone is capable of discovering what justice really is—" that infinitely delicate adjustment between innumerable partly just claims : above all, between man's just claim to order and his just claim to liberty ". This can only seem persuasive so long as one keeps to the universal and the abstract. When one comes down to concrete particular difficulties one finds that the theory is entirely barren—unless we are willing to accept the view that concrete justice is adequately realized in Great Britain or in the United States or, where they disagree, in both.

This would be a very lame conclusion ; but I am not so sure that it is not the most we can get out of Mr. Murry's doctrines. His historical account of how the " free society " came about seems at times to approach the conclusion that history is always right. Mr. Murry seems hopelessly entangled in the stereotyped English view of history, on which the Jesuits are invariably designing villains, offending " the moral conscience of the Protestant-minded, even among Catholics " [whatever that may mean], and on which Milton and Cromwell are cited as upholders of toleration ! Pascal was utterly remote from the Protestant mind and was arguing, with misdirected skill, for what must strike any impartial mind as an entirely erroneous position. Milton had no interest in toleration. He desired, when he wrote *Areopagitica,* unlicensed printing, and his chief argument for it is not merely feeble but ludicrous. Evil is bad ; but knowledge of it or acquaintance with it, he argues, is good. And the ideal environment in which to bring up a man of virtue is one in which he is assailed with all kinds of temptations to vice ! Otherwise his virtue is merely " cloistered and fugitive ". Cromwell, Mr. Murry thinks, was quite justified in slaughtering Irish Catholics because those who are themselves intolerant have no right to toleration. His methods may not commend themselves to milder times—if our times are milder—but they were inevitable in that age. It is just as well that Mr. Murry is trying to convince his " countrymen ", since his account of how the " free state " developed would carry little conviction to the detached mind of a Frenchman, a Spaniard or an Irishman. D. O'K.

FAREWELL TO EUROPEAN HISTORY, or The Conquest of Nihilism. By Alfred Weber. Translated from German by R. F. C. Hull. 1947. 16s.

FROM MAX WEBER: Essays in Sociology. Translated, edited, and with an Introduction by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. 1948. 21s. net.

Both published by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.

THESE two books belong to the International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction, edited by Dr. Karl Mannheim. The first is a translation of *Abschied von der bisherigen Geschichte,* which was first published in Switzerland in 1946. Its author is an octogenarian professor at Heidelberg who was forced to resign by the Nazis, lived in retirement for twelve years, and was reinstated soon after the capitulation. He wrote it during the last phase of the war when it was evident that catastrophe was imminent not only for Germany but for Europe. The original is an example of a rather Gothic German style, and it must be confessed that it appears to have been too much for its translator, who far outdoes it in his headlong sentences and unnecessary invention of monstrous terms.

The theme of the book is that " history " began with the first barbarian irruptions into the Eastern Mediterranean region at the end of the Bronze Age and that the ebb and flow of war and conquest set going by these irruptions has lasted down to our own time and is now at an end. What caused its end was the failure to fit Germany into the " balance of great imperial world-bodies " which seemed to be emerging in the nineteenth century and which might have brought stability. Parallel to the physical clash of empires there went, according to Weber, a spiritual process in the course of which " young " conquering races had superimposed upon their " Homeric " freshness the " dogmatism " of an old culture, from which in the course of ages they shook themselves free. The agents of their liberation were the " alone-standing individuals ", Dante, Leonardo, Michelangelo, Shakespeare and Cervantes, to each of whom a highly dithyrambic section is devoted. After Shakespeare, it would seem, there came a period of " redogmatization " which in time led to the nihilistic explosion pre-figured by Nietzsche and realised by Hitler. The future lies with great " world syndicates " guided by a new leadership which must be inspired by certain " immanent transcendent powers " to find its way out of our present nihilism.

It is rather hard to conceive of any comfort for the anxious reader coming from all this lava-flow of language. The fault is not altogether in the rather imperfect translation. It lies primarily in the very Germanic character of the original, the work of a typical professor of the old régime, with a strong bias towards abstraction and an excessive belief in the power of the intellectual and the artist to make history. Much of the evident political incapacity of the Germans must be traced to the predominance among them of this *Gelehrtenkultur*, and perhaps the chief interest of the book under review is that it offers in a thin English guise a formidable example of a typically German way of thinking and writing.

Alfred Weber is the surviving brother of a more famous man who died in 1920. Max Weber is widely considered the greatest of German sociologists; his *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, published in 1904, was one of the most important works on economic history ever written, and many of his lesser writings are equally famous. The present bulky collection of these—it runs to nearly five hundred closely printed pages—will be found very valuable by the student as containing much of his most characteristic work. It begins with a long introduction on Weber's life and achievement. The essays which follow are distributed in four main sections, headed respectively: Science and Politics, Power, Bureaucracy, Religion, and Social Structures. Among them will be found such famous papers as the speech on " Science as a Vocation ", delivered in Munich in 1918, which has been described as the best description of the German ideal of *Wissenschaft* ever given to the world.

Almost equally important is the great treatise on Bureaucracy, which is a chapter excerpted from *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*. Another extract here given in translation from the same book is entitled " The Sociology of Charismatic Authority ", and is very typical of Weber's whole outlook, with its doctrine of mystic political " grace " which in a sense anticipated Hitler's *Führerprinzip*. Unfortunately, as is the case with his brother's book, the translation here given is not very adequate, and its shortcomings are rather explained than excused by the excursus in the preface on Weber's recalcitrant style. M. T.

FORCED LABOR IN SOVIET RUSSIA. By David J. Dallin and Boris I. Nicolaevsky. London: Hollis and Carter. 1948. 25s. net.

Dr. Dallin's new book is a substantial attempt to paint a full-length portrait of the system of compulsory labour in Soviet Russia, a subject with which every reader

is vaguely familiar from sporadic references in the Press over the last fifteen years. It is evident that the materials for such a study are rather scanty, both in view of the severe censorship exercised by the Soviet government and the practical absence of any detailed statistics in this regard later than about 1930 (due to deliberate Soviet policy). Although we must admit, then, that a full and complete history of forced labour in Russia can in all probability never be written, yet Dr. Dallin has clearly gone to the greatest pains in his collection and study of all available documentary and oral information, and his picture of the Russian penal system (if such it deserves to be called) bears all the marks of truth and authenticity, and provides an adequate framework for the understanding of the gradual growth and present development of this amazing phenomenon and of its great importance for the Soviet economy.

The book is divided into two parts, of which the first gives an account of the labour camps at the present day, while the second sketches historically the origin and growth of the system of forced labour in Russia. Both sections quote a good deal from the personal accounts of ex-prisoners at various dates and places, while Section I gives interesting lists of the names of the camps with the types of work done at each at various dates from 1928 to 1947. The lists are further illustrated by maps giving the locations, and there are included reproductions of the official stamps from 32 of these camps—often with the signature of the commanding officer of the N. K. V. D. The 1947 list gives 125 camps, but it is admitted that these are only major camps, or rather camp-clusters, and that the list is far from complete. The total number of prisoners is estimated at 10 to 15 million.

The historical or second section of the book begins with the idealist Marxist theory proclaimed by Lenin in 1917, that crime was due to the disharmony of capitalist society, the exploitation of the masses, and would eventually disappear with the destruction of capitalist economy. The theory quickly disappeared before the harsh realities of Russian life in the 'twenties. The prison population rapidly multiplied to 198,000 in 1927, causing such severe congestion that parole-boards became exceedingly liberal ; and in 1925-6 only 36 per cent. of all sentences, according to official figures, were actually carried out. Originally the prisoners had only to do work necessary for the camp ; but from about 1925 they were set to various public or governmental works. In this year the political prisoners were transferred to mainland camps, and the labour system began to spread.

It was not, however, until the first Five Year Plan (1928-34)—at the time of the transformation of the peasants' private economy into the system of collective farms—that the system of corrective labour camps became wide-spread. Labour became very short and gradually became subject to an ever more restrictive conscription. Shortage of foreign exchange to purchase machinery caused a demand for millions of additional workers in the lumber industry, since lumber exports were the chief means of procuring foreign currency. At this period the inmates of both ordinary prisons and of the corrective labour camps came to be used on a large scale, together with conscripted peasant labour, on a vast variety of State undertakings.

Dr. Dallin describes, with a great variety of intimate detail, the miserable and quite inhuman conditions in these camps which have spread all over Russia from the White Sea to the Caucasus, from Turkistan to Siberia and the Far East. The achievements of this forced labour are of great economic importance, including the White Sea–Baltic and Moscow–Volga canals, numerous new railroads, cities, many varied manufacturing plants, and not least the development of gold-mining on the Kolyma River in the Far East—and all at an immense cost in human life and suffering. It is all very sad and unpleasant reading.

J. J. T.

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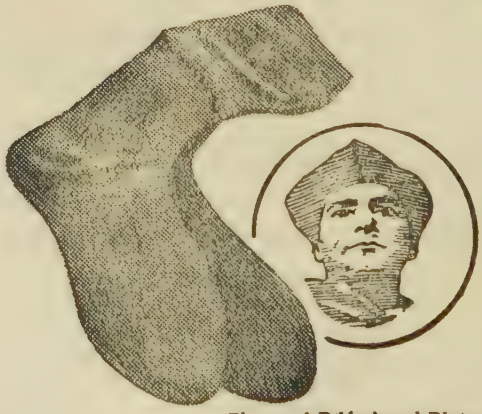

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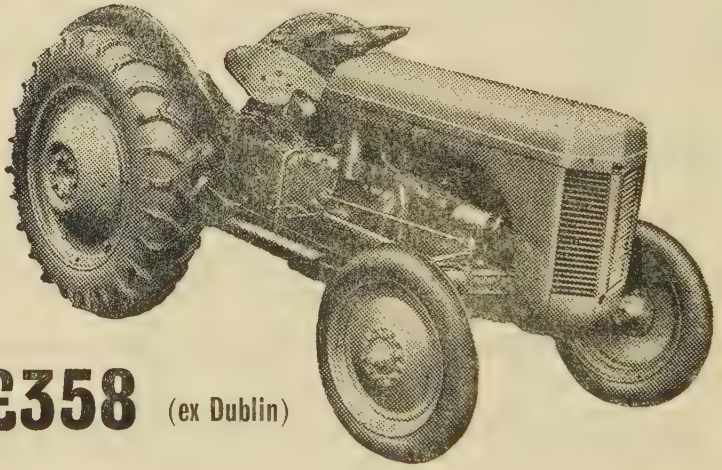

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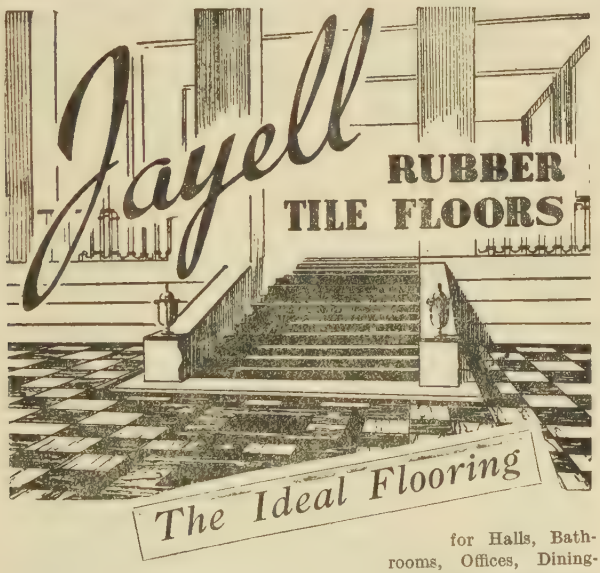

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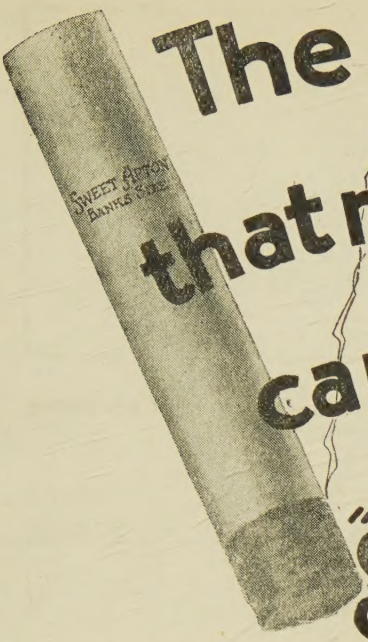

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